





J. B. Roberts
1758

THE
WORKS
Of the REVEREND
Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,
DEAN of *St. Patrick's*, DUBLIN. *K*
IN
TWENTY VOLUMES.

CONTAINING,

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| I. His Miscellanies in Prose. | ✻ XII. History of the four last |
| II. His Poetical Writings. | ✻ Years of Queen ANNE's |
| III. GULLIVER's Travels. | ✻ Reign; Letters; and Ser- |
| IV. Papers relating to Ire- | ✻ mons, &c. Collected by |
| land, and the Drapier's | ✻ DEANE SWIFT, Esq. |
| Letters. | ✻ XIII. Letters to and from |
| V. The Conduct of the Allies, | ✻ several very eminent Per- |
| and the Examiners. | ✻ sons; Poems on various |
| VI. The Publick Spirit of the | ✻ Occasions. Collected by |
| Whigs, &c. and Polite Con- | ✻ DEANE SWIFT, Esq. |
| versation. | ✻ XIV. XV. and XVI. Letters |
| VII. Letters to and from Dr. | ✻ to and from Dr. SWIFT. |
| SWIFT. | ✻ With Notes by the Rev. T. |
| VIII. Directions to Servants, | ✻ BIRCH, D.D.F.R.S. JOHN |
| Sermons, Poems, &c. | ✻ HAWKESWORTH, L.L.D. |
| IX. Letters; the History of | ✻ and others. With many |
| the last Session of Parliament, | ✻ Original Pieces. |
| and the Peace of Utrecht, | ✻ XVII. XVIII. and XIX. Let- |
| &c. | ✻ ters to & from Dr. SWIFT. |
| X. Sermons and other Pieces. | ✻ Collected by D. Swift, Esq. |
| XI. Letters, &c. the Author's | ✻ With several Originals. |
| Life and Poems. | ✻ XX. Tale of a Tub. |

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER.

M DCC LXXII.



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THE
WORKS
OF the REVEREND
Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,
DEAN of *St. Patrick's*, DUBLIN.
CONTAINING,
MISCELLANIES
IN
PROSE.

VOLUME I.



DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER,
M DCC LXXII.

THE
WORKS
OF
DR. JOHANNES SWIFT
MISCELLANIES
IN
PROSE

VOLUME I



DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER
1793

VOLUME I.

OF THE

AUTHOR'S WORKS.

CONTAINING,

MISCELLANIES

IN —

P R O S E.



D U B L I N :

Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER.

MDCCLXVIII.

VOLUME I

OF THE

AUTHOR'S WORKS

CONTAINING

MISCELLANIES

IN

P R O S E



DUBLIN:

Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER

MDCCLXXXIII

TO THE
READER.

IT may be expected that the Editor of this, and the other Editions printed by him, should give some Account of the Author and himself, which he will endeavour to do in the most concise Manner.

In the Year 1726, when Lord *Bolingbroke* (often mentioned in these Works) returned from his Exile in *France*, the Author went to *England* to visit him and some other Friends, where they often met at his Lordship's House in *London*, at Mr. *Pope's* at *Twickenham*, and at other Places, then much resorted to by the greatest Persons of the Age, for Genius, Wit and Learning, where the Dean was highly caressed by them all, and treated with the greatest Respect and Distinction.

In the Year 1724, Dr. *Swift* wrote the *Drapier's Letters*, and other Papers to the People of *Ireland*, against *Wood's* Patent for coining Halfpence and Farthings for this Kingdom; which Writings had a wonderful Effect in uniting People of all * Religions and Parties against that wicked Scheme of *Wood*; on which the Patent was withdrawn.

The Year following, 1725, many People were desirous of having the Papers written on this Occasion preserved and collected together, which was accordingly printed by the Editor, Mr. *John Harding* †, the first Printer being dead.

The present Editor was in *London* in 1726, upon his own Business and private Affairs, when he used to visit the Author at his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales's* at *Richmond Lodge*, as well as at Mr. *Pope's* at *Twittenham*, where the Dean introduced him, and recommended him to several of his Friends, many of whose Works, and separate Pieces, he afterwards printed, particularly Mr. *Pope's* entire original Works, by his own Directions, now in the Editor's Hands, many of Lord *Bolingbroke's*, Mr. *Gay's*, and other Pieces. The Dean also recommended

* See *Prometheus*, a Poem, Vol. II. p. 197.

† See *Harding's Resurrection*, Vol. XI. p. 344.

commended him to many of his other noble Friends, particularly the Earl of *Oxford**, Son of the Lord High Treasurer, who made the Editor many valuable and curious Presents, and often had him at his Table, where he was treated in a most easy, familiar Manner, as an intimate Friend.

In the Month of *August* this Year the Dean returned to *Ireland*. And, early in the Year 1727 he went to *England*, where he was more careſſed than ever by the Royal Family and People of greateſt Diſtinction, many of whom ſtrongly ſolicited him to ſettle there, where they propoſed to give him Church Livings equal to what he had in *Ireland*, which he reſuſed for many Reaſons, mentioned in his Letters to Mr. *Pope*, &c.

In 1726, the *Miscellanies* of Dr. *Swift* and Mr. *Pope* were publiſhed together in *London*, and afterwards in *Dublin* in three Volumes, together with a Preface thereto, and both Names were ſigned. This Collection, although very agreeable to many People, did not pleaſe all; which made ſeveral of the Dean's Friends apply to the Editor, to ſolicit the Author to give him his entire Works to print, free from the

A 4

Mixture

* See the Letter to Lord Oxford, Vol. XI. p. 154.

Mixture of others, only where they were necessary. Accordingly he made Application to the Dean, who did not seem willing to consent, as the Publisher might be a Loser by printing them; the Editor told him he would run all Hazards, being very positive, he should be a great Gainer by them; but the Dean still persisted; then the Editor said, he would print them by Subscription, and make a faithful Return of the Subscribers Names to him, when he could easily judge whether he would gain or lose by the Undertaking. Accordingly Proposals were published, and Subscriptions came in very fast, which were shewn to the Author, who consented to the Printing, on the following Conditions; That no Jobb should be made, but full Value given for the Money; That the Editor should attend him early every Morning, or when most convenient, to read to him, that the Sounds might strike the Ear, as well as the Sense the Understanding, and had always two Men Servants present for this Purpose; and when he had any Doubt, he would ask them the Meaning of what they heard; which, if they did not comprehend, he would alter and amend until they understood it perfectly well, and then would say, *This will do; for I write to the Vulgar, more than to the Learned.* Not satisfied with this Preparation for the Press, he

he corrected every Sheet of the first seven Volumes that were published in his Life Time, desiring the Editor to write Notes, being much younger than the Dean, acquainted with most of the Transactions of his Life, as well as with those of several of his Friends; the Author being very communicative to the Editor; who, if there should be any Errors in them, will be glad to be set right, and will, with Pleasure, print an Errata for that Purpose, to render this Edition as correct as possible; and, he most humbly thinks, he hath some Degree of Merit with the Publick, by the Publication of these Works, which would never have been collected together, had he not been favoured with the Author's Friendship and Intimacy, who never concealed any Part of his Affairs from him; but, as OTHELLO says, *Gave him the Story of his Life from Year to Year*; insomuch, that he owned to him his being Author of the *Tale of a Tub*.

Perhaps, it may be thought singular, that the Editor should be so vain as to publish some trifling Letters to him from the Author; but the Publick, it is hoped, will excuse this; because, being Printer and Publisher of a News-paper, it was in his Way to get the Dean early and better Intelligence of Estates, their Valuation, the Titles and Security of them, than many others

others could do; which, probably, had his Advice been taken in some Degree, the Income for *St. Patrick's* Hospital for the Reception of Idiots and Lunaticks, founded by *Dr. Swift*, would have been double to what it is now, had the Purchase been made in the Dean's Life; but, for what Cause we cannot say, objected to by some People, who afterwards made a very dear Bargain for Lands at *Saggard* in the County of *Dublin*, attended with a Law Suit, and a very great Expence, before the Trustees of the Hospital got the entire Possession.

Other trifling Letters may also be thought not worth Publication; but, as it will convince the World of the Intimacy the Author was pleased to favour the Printer with, he hopeth he may escape Censure; these Letters being now first printed, to satisfy the Reader, that *Mr. Faulkner* was not only the Dean's Publisher, but favoured with his Friendship, and consulted by him on many Occasions. To explain this, it is proper to inform the Curious, that *Dr. Hawkefworth*, a learned and ingenious Gentleman, who was imposed upon by some *London* Bookseller, wrote a Preface and a few very trifling Notes to an Edition of the foregoing Miscellanies, mingled with some Writings of *Dr. Arbuthnot*, *Mr. Gay*, and others, wherein the Letters between *Swift* and *Pope*
are

To the R E A D E R.

xi

are omitted, and published in Dr. *Warburton's* Edition of *Pope's* Works. Dr. *Hawkesworth* and some other Editor, were also imposed on in that Affair, by saying that *Faulkner* was not known to Dr. *Swift*; which Letters of the Dean to the Editor, relative to many Pieces of Writing, as also to many of his Friends, may convince these Commentators of the great Esteem he expresseth for him, and how grossly they have been mistaken.

The Editor having been many Years compiling these Works, and at very great Expence and Trouble, most humbly hopes for the Favour of all People of Taste and Candour, being well assured, that some Criticks, who have no Relish for low Wit or Humour, will object to them; but the Editor begs Leave to inform them, that some of the best Scholars and most learned Men in *Europe*, were against omitting one Piece, or even a single Sentence of *Swift's*, by saying, all his Weeds were Flowers in the best Gardens, and all the Trash, the Choppings of the richest brilliant Diamonds.

It is therefore most humbly hoped, that all the Lovers of Morality, good Sense, Wit and Humour, will favour this Edition, and set an Example to this Nation of their Encouragement to all Undertakers in the Literary Way, and particularly to the Editor
of

of these Works, who hath with so much Labour now finished them; as, he hopes, to the entire Satisfaction of all his worthy Readers, and that they will be pleased to look with a generous Eye and good Heart upon his genuine Editions, which have been most justly obtained from the Author by great Cost and Trouble, the Editor having suffered severely in his private Property, as well as in his Health, by his being ordered into Custody by the House of Lords for printing the following in the *Dublin Journal*, Feb. 26, 1731-2.

The following Queries are an Extract from a Pamphlet*, in the Press, writ by the Rev. Dr. S. D. S. P. D. which being somewhat long, and the Time pressing, it was thought fit to publish these Queries, that contain some of those Arguments, made Use of in the said Pamphlet, &c.

Some Queries humbly offered.

“ Whether the House of Commons may not think the Bishops have Power enough already?

“ Whether a Gentleman would not rather have a creditable Parson than a Beggar to converse with?

“ Whether

* See Considerations, &c. Vol. VI. p. 137.

" Whether this Scheme of multiplying beggarly Clergymen, may not, by their Numbers, have great Influence on Elections, being entirely under the Dependence of their Bishops?

" Whether a Clause against Parsons having Votes should not be inserted?

" Whether Gentlemen and Farmers would not be easier in their Tythes with a rich Minister, than a poor one? For a hungry Louse biteth sore, &c.

" If the Bill shall depend so long as to print the Pamphlet entire, or shall be thrown out, the said Pamphlet shall be published next Monday, for the Satisfaction of those who may desire to read the Arguments against them."

Which Censure was not taken off until the Session following, by his presenting a Petition to the House of Lords, who were pleased to order him to be discharged on his paying the Fees, which amounted to a very large Sum; in the Payment of which he was very much favoured by Sir *Multon Lambert*, then Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, as well as by some other Officers of that House.

The succeeding Session of Parliament he was taken into Custody of the House of Commons, for printing a Paper, entitled,
A Pro-

*A Proposal for the better Regulation of the Game of Quadrille**, confined closely in Prison three Days, when he was in a very bad State of Health, and his Life in much Danger; on which he petitioned the House for his Liberty, which he obtained on paying all the Fees. He was also at different Times in Custody of Messengers for printing against the Reduction of the Gold Coin and some other Affairs, but could never be prevailed on to discover the Authors, which endeared him so much to the Dean, that he gave him the Title of *his right trusty and faithful Friend*, and frequently offered to pay *Faulkner* the Expences he had been at on those Occasions, and to raise him Subscriptions, to reward him for his Fidelity and Sufferings, which *Faulkner* always refused; so that the Editor most humbly thinks, that, according to the Laws of Justice or Reason, he is most truly entitled to the Property of these Works; the Author having bestowed them to him, and corrected seven Volumes in his own Lifetime, as well as many small Tracts published at different Periods, which are inserted in their proper Places in this Edition, for the Benefit of the Subscribers.

In The succeeding Session of Parliament he was taken into Custody of the House of Commons, for printing, &c.
 • See Vol. X. p. 359.

In *England*, the Property in Copies of Books is as fully secured by Law and Custom, as any Lands, Houses, Tenements, or Funds, &c. to the very great Advantage of Learning and Authors, and to the Production of many fine printed Editions of Books and Prints. Mr. *Tonson* the Bookseller, and many of his Predecessors, have been long in Possession of the Works of *Shakespear*, *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*, *Milton*, *Dryden*, *Congreve*, and many other Authors Works, which never have been disputed with them.

The Parliament of *Great-Britain*, being truly sensible of the great Advantages of Learning, Wit and Humour to that Nation, have made many Acts of Parliament to secure the Property of Writing, not only to Authors and Booksellers, but even for Inventions of Painting and Engraving; inasmuch, that an Act was made some Years ago, in Favour of the ingenious and celebrated Mr. *Hogarth*, to secure his Property in all Prints whatever, designed, painted, or engraved by him, which Act extendeth to all Planners and Engravers of any Designs; and, by which Means, the *English* are now the most celebrated of any in *Europe* for their witty and humorous Prints, and also for Designs in Architecture, Gardening, &c. as also for their very fine Editions of
Books

Books in all Arts and Sciences, and in most Languages. This Encouragement to Authors and Learning hath induced many Gentlemen of Genius, Learning, and Fortune, to have Printing-Offices in their own Houses, or in others near adjoining, where they have printed the most elegant and correct Editions of ancient and modern Books, as well as others of their own Writing. Mr. *Viner*, who wrote the Abridgment of the Law in twenty-five Volumes in Folio, (and who left a Legacy to the University of *Oxford* to read Lectures on the Common Law) printed the above Abridgment at his own House near *Aldershot* in *Hampshire*; and the Hon. *Horace Walpole* printed, at his House at *Strawberry-Hill* near *Richmond* in *Surry*, his very agreeable and entertaining Book, entitled, *A Catalogue of the Royal and noble Authors of England*, written by himself: He also printed at the same Place, for his own Amusement, as well as for the Satisfaction of the Publick, some superb and very elegant Editions of the Classics, which are very well esteemed by all the Cui-

But, alas! it is not so in *Ireland*, where many, without any Cause whatever, immediately pyrate on their innocent Brethren, who never once offended them in their Property, either by Word, Thought, or Deed, which

which is a Reason that few Books have been well printed here, nor will be for the future, the Demand here being very small. And, what is contrary to the Custom of other Countries, Law, Justice and Reason, some of these Pyrates will not even suffer Authors to sell or bestow their Works to fair Purchasers, or their best Friends; wherefore it is hoped our Legislature will take it into their serious Consideration to make Resolutions, or enact Laws, to secure the Property of Authors to themselves, their Friends, or Purchasers, otherwise the State of Learning must daily decline, which is now at a low Ebb in *Ireland*, although we have many learned Men in all Arts and Sciences, to whom it may not be convenient to go to *England* to dispose of their Works. Several excellent Performances have lately been published by some Fellows of our University, and many others would appear, if Property could be secured to them and to the fair Purchasers.

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TO HIS

EXCELLENCY

PHILIP-DORMER STANHOPE,

Earl of *CHESTERFIELD*,

Baron *Stanhope* of *Shelford*, one of the
Lords of his Majesty's Most Honour-
able Privy Council, Knight of the
Most Noble Order of the Garter,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Ple-
nipotentiary to the States General of
the United Provinces, Lord Lieute-
nant General, and General Governor
of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

MY LORD,

I Beg Leave to present to your Excel-
lency the Works of Dr. SWIFT, who

c

was

DEDICATION.

was one of the greatest Patriots and Genius's, and most correct Writer, of this or any other Age; and to whom no Person living bears a greater Resemblance than the Earl of CHESTERFIELD, who hath already, by the like Virtues and superior Qualifications of Mind, distinguished himself, as the truest Friend and Benefactor this Nation ever had, by the Care he hath taken of this Country, by preserving it in a profound State of Peace, when all *Europe*, and particularly his Majesty's Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, hath been embroiled in bloody and intestine Civil Wars, to the Ruin of Trade and Credit, and the Devastation of whole Countries.

This Nation is likewise indebted to your most excellent Countess, for the noble Example, and unparallelled Goodness of her Ladyship, in wearing and recommending the Use of *Irish* Manufactures to the Ladies of this Kingdom, at a Time when Trade was at a Stand, and the poor Tradesmen starving for want of Employment: This is a
Work,

DEDICATION.

Work, which although our great Author had very much at Heart, he never could accomplish, but hath been left to be perfected by the Countess of CHESTERFIELD, whose Generosity hath revived our Trade, and set Numbers of idle Hands to Work.

These, and your many other Virtues, will for ever endear you both to this Country, as it hath done to all others that have had the Happiness of your Excellency's Residence among them; and the Name of Lord CHESTERFIELD will be mentioned by the People of *Ireland* to latest Posterity, as the wisest Governor, and the best Friend this Nation was ever blessed with.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's Most Dutiful,

Most Obedient, and

Most humble Servant,

Dublin, Jan.
27, 1745.

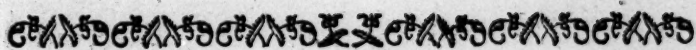
GEORGE FAULKNER.

DECLARATION

Work, which although our great An-
cestors had very much at heart, he never
could accomplish. It has been left to
be effected by the Councils of this
State, and whose Government has re-
solved our Trade and all Members of
the State to do so.

That and your many other virtues
will for ever endure you being to this
Country as it has done to all others
that have had the Happiness of your
Excellency's Residence among them.
and the Name of Lord Chesterfield
will be mentioned by the People of the
Land to last. Potently as the wisest
Governor, and the best Friend this
Nation was ever blessed with.

I am, Sir,
Your Excellency's Most Obedient
and Most humble Servant,
George F. ...



The following Tract was written at the earnest Request of King WIL-
LIAM's Ministry ; his Majesty and
the Parliament having some Dis-
putes at that Time ; which Pam-
phlet gave so much Umbrage to
the Commons, that the Author
went to *Ireland*, to avoid being
discovered and prosecuted.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
CONTESTS and DISSENTIONS
BETWEEN THE
NOBLES and COMMONS
in ATHENS and ROME;
With the Consequences they had upon both
those STATES.

*Si tibi vera videtur,
Dede manus; & si falsa est, accingere
contra.* LUCR.

Written in the Year 1701.

CHAP. I.

IT is agreed, that in all Government there is an absolute unlimited Power, which naturally and originally seemeth to be placed in the whole Body, wherever the executive Part of it lies. This holdeth in the Body natural. For wherever we place the Beginning

ning of Motion, whether from the Head, or the Heart, or the animal Spirits in general, the Body moveth, and acteth by a Consent of all its Parts. This unlimited Power, placed fundamentally in the Body of a People, is what the best Legislators of all Ages have endeavoured, in their several Schemes, or Institutions of Government, to deposite in such Hands as would preserve the People from Rapine and Oppression within, as well as Violence from without. Most of them seem to agree in this; that it was a Trust too great to be committed to any one Man, or Assembly; and therefore they left the Right still in the whole Body; but the Administration, or executive Part, in the Hands of *One*, the *Few*, or the *Many*: Into which three Powers all independent Bodies of Men seem naturally to divide. For by all I have read of those innumerable and petty Commonwealths in *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Sicily*, as well as the great ones of *Carthage* and *Rome*; it seemeth to me, that a free People met together, whether by *Compact*, or *Family Government*, as soon as they fall into any Acts of Civil Society, do, of themselves, divide into three Powers. The first is, that of some one eminent Spirit, who having signalized his Valour, and Fortune in Defence of his Country, or by the Practice of popular Arts at Home, becometh to have great Influence

fluence on the People, to grow their Leader in warlike Expeditions, and to preside, after a Sort, in their Civil Assemblies: And this is grounded upon the Principles of Nature and common Reason, which in all Difficulties and Dangers, where Prudence or Courage is required, do rather incite us to fly for Counsel or Assistance to a single Person than a Multitude. The second natural Division of Power is of such Men who have acquired large Possessions, and consequently Dependencies, or descend from Ancestors who have left them great Inheritances, together with an hereditary Authority: These easily uniting in Thoughts and Opinions, and acting in Concert, begin to enter upon Measures for securing their Properties, which are best upheld by preparing against Invasions from Abroad, and maintaining Peace at Home. This commenceth a great Council, or Senate of Nobles, for the weighty Affairs of the Nation. The last Division is of the Mass, or Body of the People; whose Part of Power is great, and undisputable, whenever they can unite either collectively, or by Deputation to exert it. Now the three Forms of Government, so generally known in the Schools, differ only by the Civil Administration being placed in the Hands of one, or sometimes two, (as in *Sparta*) who were called *Kings*; or in a

6 CONTESTS *and* DISSENTIONS

Senate, who were called the *Nobles*; or in the People Collective, or Representative, who may be called the *Commons*: Each of these had frequently the executive Power in *Greece*, and sometimes in *Rome*: But the Power in the last Resort was always meant by Legislators to be held in Balance among all three. And it will be an eternal Rule in Politicks, among every free People, that there is a Balance of Power to be carefully held by every State within itself, as well as among several States with each other.

The true Meaning of a Balance of Power, either without, or within a State, is best conceived by considering what the Nature of a Balance is. It supposes three things. First, the Part which is held, together with the Hand that holdeth it; and then the two Scales. with whatever is weighed therein. Now consider several States in a Neighbourhood: In order to preserve Peace between these States, it is necessary they should be formed into a Balance, whereof one or more are to be Directors, who are to divide the rest into equal Scales, and upon Occasions remove from one into the other, or else fall with their own Weight into the lightest: So, in a State within itself, the Balance must be held by a third Hand, who is to deal the remaining Power with the utmost Exactness into each Scale. Now it is not
necessary,

necessary, that the Power should be equally divided between these three; for the Balance may be held by the Weakest, who by his Address and Conduct, removing from either Scale, and adding of his own, may keep the Scales duly poised. Such was that of the two Kings of *Sparta*; the Consular Power in *Rome*; that of the Kings of *Media* before the Reign of King of *Cyrus*, as represented by *Xenophon*; and that of the several limited States in the *Gothic* Institutions.

When the Balance is broke, whether by the Negligence, Folly, or Weakness of the Hand that held it, or by mighty Weights falling into either Scale; the Power will never continue long in equal Division between the two remaining Parties, but (until the Balance is fixed anew) will run entirely into one. This gives the truest Account of what is understood in the most antient and approved *Greek* Authors, by the Word *Tyranny*; which is not meant for the seizing of the uncontrouled, or absolute Power into the Hands of a single Person; (as many superficial Men have grossly mistaken) but for the breaking of the Balance by whatever Hand, and leaving the Power wholly in one Scale. For *Tyranny* and *Usurpation* in a State, are by no Means confined to any Number, as might easily appear from Examples enough; and, because

8 CONTESTS and DISSENTIONS

the Point is material, I shall cite a few to prove it.

The *Romans* having sent to *Athens*, and the *Greek Cities of Italy* for the
Dionys. Copies of the best Laws, chose
Hal. l. 10. ten Legislators to put them into Form; and, during the Exercise of their Office, suspended the Consular Power, leaving the Administration of Affairs in their Hands. These very Men, although chosen for such a Work, as the digesting a Body of Laws for the Government of a free State, did immediately usurp arbitrary Power, ran into all the Forms of it, had their Guards and Spies, after the Practice of the Tyrants of those Ages; affected kingly State, destroyed the Nobles, and oppressed the People; one of them proceeding so far as to endeavour to force a Lady of great Virtue; the very Crime which gave Occasion to the Expulsion of the Regal Power but sixty Years before, as this Attempt did to that of the *Decemviri*.

The *Ephori* in *Sparta* were, at first, only certain Persons deputed by the King to judge in Civil Matters, while *They* were employed in the Wars. These Men, at several Times, usurped the absolute Authority, and were as cruel Tyrants as any in their Age.

Soon

Soon after the unfortunate Expedition into *Sicily*, the *Athenians* chose four hundred Men for Administration of Affairs, who became a Body of Tyrants, and were called, in the Language of those Ages, an *Oligarchy*, or Tyranny of the *Few*; under which hateful Denomination, they were soon after deposed in great Rage by the People.

When *Athens* was subdued by *Lyfander*, he appointed thirty Men for the Administration of that City, who immediately fell into the rankest Tyranny; But this was

not all: For, conceiving their Power not founded on a *Basis* large enough, they admitted three thousand into a Share of the Government; and, thus fortified, became the cruellest Tyranny upon Record. They murdered, in cold Blood, great Numbers of the best Men, without any Provocation, from the mere Lust of Cruelty, like *Nero*, or *Caligula*. This was such a Number of Tyrants together, as amounted to near a third Part

of the whole City. For *Xenophon* telleth us, that the City contained about ten thousand Houses, and allowing one Man to every House, who could have any Share in the Government, (the rest consisting of Women, Children, and Servants)

vants) and making other obvious Abatements; these Tyrants, if they had been careful to adhere together, might have been a Majority, even of the People collective.

In the Time of the second *Punick* War, the Balance of Power in *Car-*
Polyb. Frag. thage was got on the Side of
lib. 6. the People, and this to a Degree, that some Authors reckon the Government to have been then among them a *Dominatio Plebis*, or *Tyranny of the Commons*; which, it seemeth, they were at all Times apt to fall into, and was, at last, among the Causes that ruined their State: And the frequent Murders of their Generals, which, *Diodorus* telleth us, was
lib. 20. grown to an established Custom among them, may be another Instance that Tyranny is not confined to Numbers.

I shall mention but one Example more among a great Number that
lib. 15. might be produced; it is related by the Author last cited. The Orators of the People at *Argos*, (whether you will stile them in modern Phrase, *Great Speakers in the House*, or only, in general, Representatives of the People Collective) stirred up the COMMONS against the NOBLES; of whom 1600 were murdered at once; and, at last, the Orators themselves, because

in ATHENS and ROME. 11

because they left off their Accusations; or, to speak intelligibly, because they *withdrew their Impeachments*; having, it seemeth, raised a Spirit they were not able to lay. And this last Circumstance, as Cases have lately stood, may perhaps be worth noting.

From what hath been already advanced, several Conclusions may be drawn.

First, That a mixed Government, partaking of the known Forms received in the Schools, is, by no Means, of *Gothick* Invention, but hath Place in Nature and Reason; seemeth very well to agree with the Sentiments of most Legislators, and to have been followed in most States, whether they have appeared under the Names of Monarchies, Aristocracies, or Democracies. For, not to mention the several Republicks of this Composition in *Gaul* and *Germany*, described by *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*, *Polybius* tell-

eth us, the best Government is *Frag. lib. 6.* that which consisteth of three Forms, *Regno, Optimatum, & Populi Imperio*: Which may be fairly translated, the *Kings, Lords, and Commons*. Such was that of *Sparta*, in its primitive Institution by *Lycurgus*; who, observing the Corruptions, and Depravations to which every one of these were subject, compounded his Scheme out of all; so that it was made up of *Reges, Seniores, & Populus*. Such also was the
State

State of *Rome* under its Consuls: And the Author telleth us, that the *Romans* fell upon this Model purely by Chance, (which I take to have been Nature and common Reason) but the *Spartans* by Thought and Design.

And such at *Carthage* was the *Id. ib.* *Summa Reipublicæ*, or Power in the last Resort; for they had their Kings called *Suffotes*, and a Senate which had the Power of *Nobles*, and the People had a Share established too.

Secondly, It will follow, that those Reasoners, who employ so much of their Zeal, their Wit, and their Leisure for the upholding the Balance of Power in *Christendom*, at the same Time that by their Practices they are endeavouring to destroy it at Home, are not such mighty Patriots, or so much in the true Interest of their Country, as they would affect to be thought; but seem to be employed like a Man, who pull-eth down with his Right Hand what he hath been building with his Left.

Thirdly, This maketh appear the Error of those, who think it an uncontrollable Maxim, that Power is always safer lodged in many Hands than in one. For, if these many Hands be made up only from one of the three Divisions before mentioned; it is plain from those Examples already produced, and

and easy to be paralleled in other Ages and Countries, that they are as capable of enslaving the Nation, and of acting all Manner of *Tyranny* and *Oppression*, as it is possible for a single Person to be; although we should suppose their Number not only to be of Four or Five Hundred, but above three Thousand.

Again, it is manifest from what hath been said, that, in order to preserve the Balance in a mixed State, the Limits of Power deposited with each Party ought to be ascertained, and generally known. The Defects of this is the Cause that introduces those Strugglings in a State about *Prerogative* and *Liberty*, about Encroachments of the *Few* upon the Rights of the *Many*, and of the *Many* upon the Privileges of the *Few*; which ever did, and ever will conclude in a *Tyranny*; First, either of the *Few*, or the *Many*, but at last infallibly of a single Person. For, whichever of the three Divisions in a State is upon the Scramble for more Power than its own, (as one or other of them generally is) unless due Care be taken by the other Two, upon every new Question that arises, they will be sure to decide in Favour of themselves, talk much of *inherent Right*; they will nourish up a dormant Power, and reserve Privileges in *petto*, to exert upon Occasions, to serve Expedients,

and

and to urge upon Necessities. They will make large Demands, and scanty Concessions, ever coming off considerable Gainers: Thus, at length, the Balance is broke, and Tyranny let in; from which Door of the Three it matters not.

To pretend to a *declarative* Right upon any Occasion whatever, is little less than to make use of the whole Power; that is, to declare an Opinion to be Law, which hath always been contested, or perhaps never started before such an Incident brought it on the Stage. Not to consent to the enacting of such a Law, which hath no view besides the general Good, unless another Law shall at the same Time pass with no other View, but that of advancing the Power of one Party alone; what is this, but to claim a positive Voice as well as a negative? To pretend that great Changes and Alienations of Property have created new and great Dependencies, and consequently new Additions of Power, as some Reasoners have done, is a most dangerous Tenet: If Dominion must follow Property, let it follow in the same Pace: For Changes in Property through the Bulk of a Nation make slow Marches, and its due Power always attends it. To conclude, that whatever Attempt is begun by an Assembly ought to be pursued to the End, without regard to the greatest Incidents

dents that may happen to alter the Case; to count it mean, and below the *Dignity of a House*, to quit a Prosecution; to resolve upon a Conclusion, before it is possible to be apprised of the Premises. To act thus, I say, is to affect not only absolute Power, but Infallibility too. Yet such unaccountable Proceedings as these have popular Assemblies engaged in, for want of fixing the due Limits of *Power* and *Privilege*.

Great Changes may, indeed, be made in a Government, yet the Form continue, and the Balance be held; but large Intervals of Time must pass between every such Innovation, enough to melt down, and make it of a Piece with the Constitution. Such, we are told, were the Proceedings of *Solon* when he modelled anew the *Athenian* Commonwealth. And what Convulsions in our own, as well as other States, have been bred by a Neglect of this Rule, is fresh, and notorious enough. It is too soon, in all Conscience, to repeat this Error again.

Having shewn that there is a natural Balance of Power in all free States, and how it hath been divided, sometimes by the People themselves, as in *Rome*; at others by the Institutions of the Legislators, as in the several States of *Greece* and *Sicily*: The next Thing is to examine what Methods have been taken to break or overthrow this Balance;

lance; which every one of the three Parties hath continually endeavoured, as Opportunities have served; as might appear from the Stories of most Ages and Countries. For absolute Power in a particular State is of the same Nature with universal Monarchy in several States adjoining to each other. So endless and exorbitant are the Desires of Men, whether considered in their Persons or their States, that they will grasp at all, and can form no Scheme of perfect Happiness with less. Ever since Men have been united into Governments, the Hopes and Endeavours after universal Monarchy have been bandied among them, from the Reign of *Ninus*, to this of the *Most Christian King* *. In which Pursuits Commonwealths have had their Share, as well as Monarchs: So the *Athenians*, the *Spartans*, the *Thebans*, and the *Achaians*, did several Times aim at the universal Monarchy of *Greece*: So the Commonwealths of *Carthage* and *Rome* affected the universal Monarchy of the then known World. In like Manner hath absolute Power been pursued by the several Parties of each particular State; wherein single Persons have met with the most Success, although the Endeavours of the *Few* and the *Many* have been frequent enough: Yet, being

* *Lewis XIV.*

being neither so uniform in their Designs, nor so direct in their Views, they neither could manage nor maintain the Power they had got; but were ever deceived by the Popularity and Ambition of some single Person. So that it will be always a wrong Step in Policy, for the *Nobles* or *Commons* to carry their Endeavours after Power so far, as to overthrow the Balance: And it would be enough to damp their Warmth in such Pursuits, if they could once reflect, that in such a Course they will be sure to run upon the very Rock that they meant to avoid: which, I suppose they would have us think, is the Tyranny of a single Person.

Many Examples might be produced of the Endeavours from each of these three Rivals after absolute Power: But I shall suit my Discourse to the Time I am writing it; and relate only such Dissentions in *Greece* and *Rome*, between the *Nobles* and *Commons*, with the Consequences of them, wherein the latter were the Aggressors.

I shall begin with *Greece*, where my Observations shall be confined to *Athens*; altho' several Instances might be brought from other States thereof.

C H A P. II.

*Of the Dissentions in Athens, between the
Few and the Many.*

THESSEUS is the First, who is recorded with any Appearance of Truth to have brought the *Grecians* from a barbarous Manner of Life, among scattered Villages, into Cities; and to have established the *popular State* in *Athens*, assigning to himself the Guardianship of the Laws, and chief Command in War. He was forced, after some Time, to leave the *Athenians* to their own Measures upon Account of their seditious Temper, which ever continued with them until the final Dissolution of their Government by the *Romans*. It seems, the Country about *Attica* was the most barren of any in *Greece*; through which Means it happened that

that the Natives were never expelled by the Fury of Invaders, (who thought it not worth a Conquest) but continued always *Aborigines*: and therefore retained, through all Revolutions, a Tincture of that turbulent Spirit wherewith their Government began. This Institution of *Theseus* appeareth to have been rather a Sort of mixed Monarchy than a popular State; and, for ought we know, might continue so during the Series of Kings until the Death of *Codrus*. From this last Prince *Solon* was said to be descended; who finding the People engaged in two violent Factions of the Poor and the Rich, and in great Confusion thereupon, refusing the Monarchy which was offered him, chose rather to cast the Government after another Model, wherein he made due Provision for settling the Balance of Power, chusing a Senate of four Hundred, and disposing the Magistracies, and Offices, according to Mens Estates; leaving to the Multitude their Votes in electing, and the Power of judging certain Processes by Appeal. This Council of four Hundred was chosen, a Hundred out of each Tribe; and seemeth to have been a Body Representative of the People; although the People Collective reserved a Share of Power to themselves. It is a Point of History perplexed enough; but thus much is certain,

that the Balance of Power was provided for, else *Pisistratus*, (called by Authors the Tyrant of *Athens*) *Herodot. lib. 1.* could never have governed so peaceably as he did, without changing any of *Solon's* Laws. These several Powers together with that of the *Archon*, or chief Magistrate, made up the Form of Government in *Athens*, at what Time it began to appear upon the Scene of Action and Story.

The first Great Man bred up under this Institution was *Miltiades*, who lived about Ninety Years after *Solon*; and is reckoned to have been the first great Captain not only of *Athens*, but of all *Greece*. From the Time of *Miltiades* to that of *Phocion*, who is looked upon as the last famous General of *Athens*, are about One Hundred and Thirty Years: After which they were subdued and insulted by *Alexander's* Captains, and continued under several Revolutions, a small truckling State of no Name, or Reputation, until they fell with the rest of *Greece* under the Power of the *Romans*.

During this Period from *Miltiades* to *Phocion*, I shall trace the Conduct of the *Athenians*. with relation to their Dissentions between the PEOPLE and some of their GENERALS; who, at that Time, by their Power and Credit in the Army, in a warlike Commonwealth,

monwealth, and often supported by each other, were, with the Magistrates and other Civil Officers, a Sort of Counterpoise to the Power of the People, who, since the Death of *Solon*, had already made great Encroachments. What these Dissentions were, how founded, and what the Consequences of them, I shall briefly and impartially relate.

I must here premise, that the *Nobles* in *Athens* were not at this Time a Corporate Assembly, that I can gather; therefore the Resentments of the Commons were usually turned against particular Persons, and by way of Articles of Impeachment. Whereas the Commons in *Rome*, and some other States, (as will appear in its proper Place) although they followed this Method upon Occasion, yet generally pursued the Enlargement of their Power by more set Quarrels of one entire Assembly against another. However, the Custom of particular Impeachments being not limited to former Ages, any more than that of general Struggles, and Dissentions between fixed Assemblies of Nobles and Commons; and the Ruin of *Greece* having been owing to the former, as that of *Rome* was to the latter; I shall treat on both expressly; that those States, who are concerned in either, (if at least there be any such now in the World) may, by observing the Means and Issues of former

mer Dissentions, learn, whether the Causes are alike in theirs; and if they find them to be so, may consider, whether they ought not justly to apprehend the same Effects.

To speak of every particular Person, impeached by the Commons of *Athens*, within the Compass designed, would introduce the History of almost every great Man they had among them. I shall therefore take Notice only of six, who living in that Period of Time when *Athens* was at the Height of its Glory, (as indeed it could not be otherwise while such Hands were at the Helm) although *impeached for high Crimes and Misdemeanors*, such as *Bribery, arbitrary Proceedings, misapplying, or embezzling publick Funds, ill Conduct at Sea*, and the like, were honoured and lamented by their Country as the Preservers of it, and have had the Veneration of all Ages since justly paid to their Memories.

Miltiades was one of the *Athenian* Generals against the *Persian* Power; and the famous Victory at *Marathon* was chiefly owing to his Valour and Conduct. Being sent some Time after to reduce the Island of *Paros*, he mistook a great Fire at a Distance for the *Fleet*, and, being no Ways a Match for the Enemy, set sail to *Athens*. At his Arrival he was *impeached* by the Commons for Treachery, although not able to appear
by

by Reason of his Wounds; fined 30,000 Crowns, and died in Prison. Although the Consequences of this Proceeding upon the Affairs of *Athens*, were no more than the untimely Loss of so great and good a Man, yet I could not forbear relating it.

Their next great Man was *Aristides**: Besides the mighty Service he had done his Country in the Wars; he was a Person of the strictest Justice, and best acquainted with the Laws, as well as Forms of their Government; so that he was in a Manner *Chancellor* of *Athens*. This Man, upon a slight and false Accusation of favouring *arbitrary Power*, was banished by *Ostracism*; which, rendered into modern *English*, would signify, that they voted *he should be removed from their Presence and Councils for ever*. But they had soon the Wit to recal him; and

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* *John Somers*, was bred to the Law, in which he practised some Years before he was much taken Notice of. He was one of the Counsel for the seven Bishops in the Reign of King *James II.* by which he acquired so great a Reputation, that he was immediately brought into great Business. On the Accession of King *William* to the Throne, he was made Attorney General; soon after Lord Keeper, Lord Chancellor, and a Peer, by the Name, Style, and Title of Lord *Somers*, Baron of *Evesham*. Being impeached by the Commons, in 1701, he was discharged from his Employments, notwithstanding which he kept up a very great Interest in both Houses. See more of his Character in the Dedication to the *TALE of a TUB*.

to that Action owed the Preservation of their State by his future Services. For it must be still confessed in Behalf of the *Athenian* People, that they never conceived themselves perfectly infallible, nor arrived to the Heights of *modern Assemblies*, to make *Obstinacy* confirm what *sudden Heat* and *Temerity* began. They thought it not *below the Dignity* of an Assembly to endeavour at correcting an ill Step; at least to repent, although it often fell out too late.

Themistocles * was at first a *Commoner* himself. It was he who raised the *Athenians* to their *Greatness at Sea*, which he thought to be the true and constant Interest of that Commonwealth; and the famous naval Victory over the *Persians* at *Salamis*

* *Edward Russell*, was Brother's Son to the Duke of *Bedford*, bred up to the Sea; was Captain of a Ship of War in the Reign of *Charles II.* and Groom of the Bed Chamber to the Duke of *York*; but on Lord *Russell's* being beheaded in the Year 1683, he left the Duke of *York*, and at the Revolution in 1688, he came over to *England* with the Prince of *Orange*. He commanded the *English Fleet*, which fought and burned that of *France* at *La Hague*, in 1692, as also the grand Fleet that wintered at *Cádiz*; for which eminent Services *K. William III.* created him Earl of *Orford*, soon after a Privy Counsellor, and of the Cabinet, Treasurer of the Navy, and one of the Lords Justices in his Majesty's Absence. He was one of the four Lords impeached by the Commons for the *Treaty of Partition*, and turned out of all his Employments.

lamis was owing to his Conduct. It seems the People observed somewhat of Haughtiness in his Temper and Behaviour, and therefore banished him for five Years; but, finding some slight Matter of Accusation against him, they sent to seize his Person, and he hardly escaped to the *Persian* Court; from whence, if the Love of his Country had not surmounted its base Ingratitude to him, he had many Invitations to return at the Head of the *Persian* Fleet, and take a terrible Revenge; but he rather chose a voluntary Death.

The People of *Athens* impeached *Pericles* * for *misapplying the publick Revenues to his own private Use*. He had been a Person of great Deservings from the Republick, was an *admirable Speaker*, and very popular; *his Accounts were confused, and he wanted Time to adjust them*; therefore, merely to divert that Difficulty, and the Consequences of it, he was forced to engage his Country in the *Peleponnesian* War, the longest that was known in *Greece*, and which ended in the utter Ruin of *Athens*.

The

* *Charles Montague*, was Grandson to an Earl of *Manchester*. He wrote a Satyr, called, *the City and Country Mouse*, in Answer to *Dryden's Hind and Panther*, which gained him great Reputation. He was brought to Court soon after the Revolution, was immediately taken

The same People, having resolved to subdue *Sicily*, sent a mighty Fleet under the Command of *Nifias*, *Lamachus*, and *Alciades*; the two former, Persons of Age and Experience; the last, a young Man of noble Birth, excellent Education, and a plentiful Fortune. A little before the Fleet set sail, it seemeth, one Night, the Stone Images of *Mercury*, placed in several Parts of the City, were all pared in the Face; This Action the *Athenians* interpreted for a Design of destroying the popular State; and *Alciades*, having been formerly noted for the like Frolicks and Excursions, was immediately accused of this. He, whether conscious of his Innocence, or assured of the Secrecy,

taken Notice of, chosen a Member of Parliament, and made a considerable Figure in the House of Commons, where he was a great Leader. King *William* made him a Commissioner of the Treasury, for which Employment he was extremely well qualified, being the Projector of the Loans that were at that Time made to the Crown, and for the establishing of Paper Credit, and the Debentures, and for the recoin-ing of the Money at a very critical Time, when the Nation was engaged in a most expensive War against *France*. The Commons growing jealous of his Power with the King, he got himself created a Peer, by the Name, Style, and Title of Baron *Halifax* of *Halifax*, in the County of *York*, Dec. 13, 1700, 12 *William* III Notwithstanding this Creation, the Commons pursued him to the House of Lords, where he was impeached, and quit being a Commissioner of the Treasury to be Auditor.

crecy, offered to come to his Trial before he went to his Command: This the *Athenians* refused: But as soon as he was got to *Sicily* they sent for him back, designing to take the Advantage, and prosecute him in the Absence of his Friends and of the Army, where he was very powerful. It seemeth he understood the Resentments of a popular Assembly too well to trust them; and therefore, instead of returning, escaped to *Sparta*; where his Desire of Revenge prevailing over his Love to his Country, he became its greatest Enemy. Mean while, the *Athenians* before *Sicily*, by the Death of one Commander, and the Superstition, Weakness, and perfect ill Conduct of the other, were utterly destroyed; the whole Fleet taken, and a miserable Slaughter made of the Army, whereof hardly one ever returned. Some Time after this, *Alcibiades* was recalled upon his own Conditions, by the Necessities of the People, and made chief Commander at Sea and Land; but his Lieutenant engaging against his positive Orders, and being beaten by *Lysander*, *Alcibiades* was again disgraced and banished. However, the *Athenians* having lost all Strength and Heart since their Misfortune at *Sicily*, and now deprived of the only Person that was able to recover their Losses, repent of their Rashness, and endeavour, in vain, for

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for his Restoration; the *Perſian* Lieutenant, to whoſe Protection he fled, making him a Sacrifice to the Reſentments of *Lyſander*, the General of the *Lacedæmonians*; who now reduceth all the Dominion of the *Athenians*, takes the City, razes their Walls, ruins their Works, and changes the Form of their Government; which, although again reſtored for ſome Time by *Thraſybulus*, (as their Walls were rebuilt by *Conon*) yet here we muſt date the Fall of the *Athenian* Greatneſs, the Dominion and chief Power in *Greece*, from that Period, to the Time of *Alexander* the Great, which was about fifty Years, being divided between the *Spartans* and the *Thebans*: Although *Philip*, *Alexander's* Father, (*the Moſt Chriſtian King* of that Age) had, indeed, ſome Time before, begun to break in upon the Republicks of *Greece*, by Conqueſts of *Bribery*; particularly dealing large Money among ſome popular Orators; by which he brought many of them, as the Term of Art was then, to *Philippize*.

In the Time of *Alexander* and his Captains, the *Athenians* were offered an Opportunity of recovering their Liberty, and being reſtored to their former State; but the wiſe Turn they thought to give the Matter was by an Impeachment and Sacrifice of the Author to hinder the Succeſs. For, after the Deſtruction of *Thebes* by *Alexander*, this Prince,

Prince, designing the Conquest of *Athens*, was prevented by *Phocion**, the *Athenian* General, then Ambassador from that State; who, by his great Wisdom and Skill at Negotiation, diverted *Alexander* from his Design, and restored the *Athenians* to his Favour. The very same Success he had with *Antipater* after *Alexander's* Death; at which Time the Government was new regulated by *Solon's* laws: But *Polyperchon*, in Hatred to *Phocion*, having, by Order of the young King, whose Governor he was, restored those whom *Phocion* had banished; the Plot succeeded, *Phocion* was accused by popular Orators, and put to Death.

Thus was the most powerful Commonwealth of all *Greece*, after great Degeneracies

* *William Bentinck*, a Gentleman of *Holland*, was Page to King *William III.* when he was Prince of *Orange*, and his greatest Favourite. He came to *England* with his Majesty at the Revolution, and received very high Honours, being created Viscount *Woodstock* in the County of *Oxford*, and Earl of *Portland* in the County of *Dorset*, April 9, 1689. Soon after this he was made a Knight of the Garter, a Lieutenant General, first Lord of the Bedchamber and Privy Purse, and had the absolute and entire Government of *Scotland*. His Majesty threw away such Grants of Land upon him, as obliged the Parliament to interpose, and put a Stop to them. His Lordship was sent Ambassador to *France*, against his Will, and was supplanted in the King's Favour during his Absence, by *Arnold Foest Van Kepple*, Earl of *Albemarle*, a Gentleman of good Family in *Guelderland*.

cies from the Institution of *Solon*, utterly destroyed by that rash, jealous, and inconstant Humour of the People, which was never satisfied to see a General either *victorious*, or *unfortunate*: Such ill Judges, as well as Rewarders, have *popular Assemblies* been of those who best deserved from them.

Now, the Circumstance, which makes these Examples of more Importance, is, that this very Power of the People in *Athens*, claimed so confidently for an *inherent Right*, and insisted on as the *undoubted Privilege of an Athenian born*, was the rankest Encroachment imaginable, and the grossest Degeneracy from the Form that *Solon* left them. In short, their Government was grown into a *Dominatio Plebis*, or *Tyranny of the People*; who, by Degrees, had broke and overthrown that Balance, which that Legislator had very well fixed and provided for. This appeareth not only from what hath been already said of that Law-giver, but more manifest from a Passage in *Diodorus*; who telleth us, That Antipater, one of Alexander's Captains, abrogated the popular Government (in Athens) and restored the Power of Suffrages and Magistracy to such only, as were worth two thousand Drackmas; by which Means, (sayeth he) that Republick came to be again administered by the Laws of Solon.

Solon. By this Quotation it is manifest, that this great Author looked upon *Solon's* Institution and a popular Government to be two different Things. And as for this Restoration by *Antipater*, it had neither Consequence nor Continuance worth observing.

I might easily produce many more Examples, but these are sufficient: And it may be worth the Reader's Time to reflect a little on the Merits of the Cause, as well as of the Men who had been thus dealt with by their Country. I shall direct him no further, than by repeating, that *Aristides* was the most renowned by the People themselves for his exact *Justice*, and *Knowledge in the Law*. That *Themosticles* was a most fortunate Admiral, and had got a mighty *Victory over the great King of Persia's Fleet*. That *Pericles* was an able Minister of State, an excellent Orator, and a Man of Letters: And lastly, that *Phocion*, besides the Success of his Arms, was also renowned for his *Negotiations Abroad*; having, in an Embassy, brought the greatest Monarch of the World, at that Time, to the Terms of an honourable Peace, by which his Country was preserved.

I shall conclude my Remarks upon *Athens*, with the Character given us of that People by *Polybius*. About this Time, sayeth he, the Athenians were governed by two Men;
quite

quite sunk in their Affairs; had little or no Commerce with the rest of Greece; and were become great Reverencers of crowned Heads.

For, from the Time of *Alexander's* Captains, until *Greece* was subdued by the *Romans*, (to the latter Part of which the Description of *Polybius* falleth in) *Athens* never produced one famous Man, either for Councils or Arms, or *Polyb.* hardly for Learning. And, indeed, it was a dark, insipid Period through all *Greece*: For, except the *Achaian* League under *Aratus* and *Philopæmen*; and the Endeavours of *Agis* and *Cleomenes* to restore the State of *Sparta*, so frequently harrassed with Tyrannies, occasioned by the popular Practices of the *Ephori*; there was very little worth recording. All which Consequences may, perhaps, be justly imputed to this Degeneracy of *Athens*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Dissentions between the Patricians and Plebeians in Rome; with the Consequences they had upon that State.

HAVING, in the foregoing Chapter, confined myself to the Proceedings of the COMMONS only; by the Method of *Impeachments* against particular Persons, with the fatal Effects they had upon the State of *Athens*; I shall now treat of the *Dissentions* at *Rome*, between the People and the collective Body of the *Patricians* or *Nobles*. It is a large Subject; but I shall draw it into as narrow a Compass as I can.

As *Greece*, from the most antient Accounts we have of it, was divided into several Kingdoms, so was most Parts of *Italy* into several

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petty Commonwealths. And as those Kings

in *Greece* are said to have been

Dionys. deposed by the People upon the

Halicarn. Score of their arbitrary Proceedings; so, on the contrary, the

Commonwealths of *Italy* were all swallowed up, and concluded in the Tyranny of the *Roman* Emperors. However, the Differences between those *Grecian* Monarchies and *Italian* Republicks were not very great. For, by the Accounts *Homer* giveth us of those *Grecian* Princes, who came to the Siege of *Troy*, as well as by several Passages in the *Odyssey*, it is manifest, that the Power of these Princes, in their several States, was much of a Size with that of the Kings in *Sparta*, the Archon at *Athens*, the Suffetes at *Carthage*, and the Consuls in *Rome*: So that a limited and divided Power seemeth to have been the most antient and inherent Principle of both those People in Matters of Government. And such did that of *Rome* continue from the Time of *Romulus*, altho' with some Interruptions, to *Julius Cæsar*; when it ended in the Tyranny of a single Person. During which Period, (not many Years longer than from the *Norman* Conquest to our Age) the Commons were growing by Degrees into Power and Property, gaining Ground upon the *Patricians*, as it were Inch by Inch, until at last they quite over-
turned

turned the Balance ; leaving all Doors open to the Practices of popular and ambitious Men, who destroyed the wisest Republick, and enslaved the noblest People that ever entered upon the Stage of the World. By what Steps and Degrees this was brought to pass, shall be the Subject of my present Enquiry.

While *Rome* was governed by Kings, the Monarchy was altogether elective. *Romulus* himself, when he had built the City, was declared King by the universal Consent of the People, and by Augury, which was then understood for *Divine Appointment*. Among other Divisions he made of the People, one was into *Patricians* and *Plebeians* : The former were like the Barons of *England*, some Time after the Conquest; and the latter are also described to be almost exactly what our Commons were then : For they were Dependants upon the *Patricians*, whom they chose for their Patrons and Protectors, to answer for their Appearance, and defend them in any Process: they also supplied their Patrons with Money, in Exchange for their Protection. This Custom of *Patronage*, it seemeth, was very ancient, and long practised among the *Greeks*.

Out of these *Patricians*, *Romulus* chose an hundred to be a *Senate*, or *Grand Council*, for Advice and Assistance to him in the

Administration. The Senate, therefore, originally consisted all of Nobles, and were, of themselves, a *standing Council*, the People being only convoked upon such Occasions, as, by this Institution of *Romulus*, fell into their Cognizance: These were to constitute Magistrates, to give their Votes for making Laws, and to advise upon entering on a War. But the two former of these popular Privileges were to be confirmed by the Authority of the Senate; and the last was only permitted at the King's Pleasure. This was the utmost Extent of Power pretended by the *Commons* in the Time of *Romulus*, all the rest being divided between the King and Senate; the whole agreeing very nearly with the Constitution of *England*, for some Centuries after the Conquest.

After a Year's *Interregnum* from the Death of *Romulus*, the Senate, of their own Authority, chose a Successor, and a Stranger, meerly upon the Fame of his Virtue, without asking the Consent of the Commons; which Custom they likewise observed in the two following Kings. But, in the Election of *Tarquinius Priscus*, the fifth King, we first hear mentioned, that it was done, *Populi impetrata venia*; which, indeed, was but very reasonable for a free People to expect; although I cannot remember, in my little Reading, by what Incidents they were brought

brought to advance so great a Step. However it were, this Prince, in Gratitude to the People, by whose Consent he was chosen, elected a hundred Senators out of the Commons; whose Number, with former Additions, now amounted to three hundred.

The People, having once discovered their own Strength, did soon take Occasion to exert it, and that by very great Degrees. For, at this King's Death, (who was murdered by the Sons of a former) being at a Loss for a Successor, *Servius Tullius*, a Stranger, and of mean Extraction, was chosen Protector of the Kingdom, by the *People*, without the Consent of the Senate; at which the Nobles being displeased, he wholly applied himself to gratify the Commons; and was by them declared and confirmed no longer Protector, but King

This Prince first introduced the Custom of giving Freedom to Servants, so as to become Citizens of equal Privileges with the rest; which very much contributed to encrease the Power of the People.

Thus, in a very few Years, the Commons proceeded so far as to wrest even the Power of chusing a King entirely out of the Hands of the Nobles: Which was so great a Leap, and caused such a Convulsion and Struggle in the State, that the Constitution could not bear it; but Civil Dissentions arose, which

immediately were followed by the Tyranny of a single Person, as this was by the utter Subversion of the Regal Government, and by a Settlement upon a new Foundation. For the Nobles, spighted at this Indignity done them by the Commons, firmly united in a Body, deposed this Prince by plain Force, and chose *Tarquin the Proud*; who, running into all the Forms and Methods of Tyranny, after a cruel Reign, was expelled by an universal Concurrence of Nobles and People, whom the Miseries of his Reign had reconciled.

When the Consular Government began, the Balance of Power between the Nobles and Plebians was fixed anew. The two first Consuls were nominated by the Nobles, and confirmed by the Commons; and a Law was enacted, That no Person should bear any Magistracy in *Rome*, *injussu Populi*; that is, without *Consent of the Commons*.

In such turbulent Times as these, many of the poorer Citizens had contracted numerous Debts, either to the richer Sort among themselves, or to Senators and other Nobles: And the Case of Debtors in *Rome*

for the first four *Centuries was,

* *Ab urbe condita.* after the set Time for Payment, no Choice, but either to pay, or be the Creditor's Slave. In

this Juncture, the Commons leave the City
in

in Mutiny and Discontent; and will not return; but upon Condition to be acquitted of all their Debts; and moreover, that certain Magistrates be chosen yearly, whose Business it shall be to defend the Commons from Injuries. These are called, *Tribunes of the People*, their Persons are held sacred and inviolable, and the People bind themselves by Oath never to abrogate the Office. By these Tribunes, in Process of Time, the People were grossly imposed on, to serve the Turns and Occasions of revengeful or ambitious Men; and to commit such Exorbitances as could not end, but in the Dissolution of the Government.

These Tribunes, a Year or two after their Institution, kindled great Dissentions between the Nobles and the Commons, on the Account of *Coriolanus*, a Nobleman whom the latter had *impeached*; and the Consequences of whose Impeachment (if I had not confined myself to *Grecian* Examples for that Part of my Subject) had like to have been so fatal to their State. And, from this Time, the Tribunes began a Custom of accusing, to the People, whatever Nobles they pleased; several of whom were banished, or put to Death, in every Age.

At this Time the *Romans* were very much engaged in Wars with their neighbouring States;

States ; but, upon the least Intervals of Peace, the Quarrels between the Nobles and the Plebeians would revive ; and one of the most frequent Subjects of their Differences was the *conquered Lands*, which the Commons would fain have divided among the Publick ; but the Senate could not be brought to give their Consent. For several of the wisest among the Nobles began to apprehend the growing Power of the People ; and therefore, knowing what an Accession thereof would accrue to them by such an Addition of Property, used all Means to prevent it : For this the *Appian* Family was most noted ; and thereupon most hated by the Commons. One of them, having made a Speech against this Division of Lands, was impeached by the People of High Treason, and a Day appointed for his Trial ; but he, disdaining to make his Defence, chose rather the usual *Roman* Remedy of killing himself : After whose Death, the Commons prevailed, and the Lands were divided among them.

This Point was no sooner gained, but new Diffentions began : For the *Plebeians* would fain have a Law enacted to lay all Mens Rights and Privileges upon the same Level ; and to enlarge the Power of every Magistrate, within his own Jurisdiction, as much as that of the Consuls. The Tribunes also
obtained

obtained to have their Number doubled, which before was five; and the Author telleth us, that their *Dionys.*
Halicar.
 Insolence and Power increased with their Number; and the Seditions were also doubled with it.

By the Beginning of the fourth Century, from the Building of *Rome*, the Tribunes proceeded so far, in the Name of the Commons, as to accuse and fine the Consuls themselves, who represented the kingly Power. And the Senate observing, how, in all Contentions, they were forced to yield to the Tribunes and People, thought it their wisest Course to give Way also to Time: Therefore a Decree was made to send Ambassadors to *Athens*, and the other *Grecian* Commonwealths, planted in that Part of *Italy* called *Græcian Major*, to make a Collection of the best Laws; out of which, and some of their own, a new compleat Body of Laws was formed, afterwards known by the Name of the *Laws of the Twelve Tables*.

To digest these Laws into Order, ten Men were chosen, and the Administration of all Affairs left in their Hands: What Use they made of it hath been already shewn. It was certainly a great Revolution, produced entirely by the many unjust Encroachments of the People; and might have wholly

wholly changed the Fate of *Rome*, if the Folly and Vice of those, who were chiefly concerned, could have suffered it to take Root.

A few Years after, the Commons made further Advances on the Power of the Nobles; demanding among the rest, that the Consulship, which hitherto had only been disposed to the former, should now lie in common to the Pretensions of any *Roman* whatever. This, although it failed at present, yet afterwards obtained, and was a mighty Step to the Ruin of the Commonwealth.

What I have hitherto said of *Rome* hath been chiefly collected out of that exact and diligent Writer, *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*; whose History (through the Injury of Time) reacheth no farther than to the Beginning of the fourth Century, after the Building of *Rome*. The rest I shall supply from other Authors; although I do not think it necessary to deduce this Matter any further, so very particularly as I have hitherto done.

To point at what Time the Balance of Power was most equally held between the *Lords* and *Commons* in *Rome*, would, perhaps, admit a Controversy. *Polybius* telleth us, that in the second *Punick* War the *Carthaginians* were declining, because
 the

Fragm.
lib. 6.

the Balance was got too much on the Side of the People; whereas the *Romans* were in their greatest Vigour, by the Power remaining in the Senate; yet this was between two and three hundred Years after the Period *Dionysius* endeth with; in which Time the Commons had made several further Acquisitions. This, however, must be granted, that (until about the Middle of the fourth Century) when the Senate appeared resolute at any Time upon exerting their Authority, and adhered closely together, they did often carry their Point. *Dionysius.* Besides, it is observed by the *Halicar.* best Authors, that in all the *Plut. &c.* Quarrels and Tumults at *Rome*, from the Expulsion of the Kings; although the People frequently proceeded to rude contumelious Language, and sometimes so far as to pull and hale one another about the *Forum*; yet no Blood was ever drawn in any popular Commotions, until the Time of the *Gracchi*: However, I am of Opinion, that the Balance had begun many Years before to lean to the popular Side. But this Default was corrected, partly by the Principle just mentioned, of never drawing Blood in a Tumult; partly by the warlike Genius of the People, which, in those Ages, was almost perpetually employed; and partly by their great Commanders, who, by the great

great Credit they had in their Armies, fell into the Scales as a farther Counterpoise to the growing Power of the People. Besides, *Polybius*, who lived in the Time of *Scipio Africanus* the younger, had the same Apprehensions of the continual Encroachments made by the Commons; and being a Person of as great Abilities, and as much Sagacity as any of his Age; from observing the Corruptions which, he saith, had already entered into the *Roman* Constitution, did very nearly foretel what would be the Issue of them. His Words are very remarkable, and with little Addition may be rendered to this

Purpose. *That those Abuses*
lib. 5. *and Corruptions, which in Time*
destroy a Government, are sown

along with the very Seeds of it, and both grow up together: And that, as Rust eateth away Iron, and Worms devour Wood; and both are a Sort of Plagues, born and bred along with the Substance they destroy; so with every Form and Scheme of Government that Man can invent, some Vice or Corruption creepeth in with

the very Institution, which grow-
Fragm. *eth up along with, and at last*
lib. 6. *destroyeth it.* The same Author

in another Place ventureth so far as to guess at the particular Fate which would attend the *Roman* Government. He saith, its Ruin would arise from the popular Tumults

Tumults, which would introduce a *Dominatio Plebis*, or Tyranny of the People : Wherein, it is certain, he had Reason, and therefore might have adventured to pursue his Conjectures so far, as to the Consequences of a popular Tyranny ; which, as perpetual Experience teacheth, never faileth to be followed by the arbitrary Government of a single Person.

About the Middle of the fourth Century, from the Building of *Rome*, it was declared lawful for *Nobles* and *Plebeians* to intermarry ; which Custom, among many other States, hath proved the most effectual Means to ruin the former, and raise the latter.

And now; the greatest Employments in the State were, one after another, by Laws forceably enacted by the *Commons*, made free to the People; the *Consulship* itself, the Office of *Censor*, that of the *Quæstors*, or *Commissioners of the Treasury*, the Office of *Prætor*, or *Chief Justice*, the *Priesthood*, and even that of *Dictator* : The Senate, after long Opposition, yielding, meerly for present Quiet, to the continual urging Clamours of the *Commons*, and of the *Tribunes* their Advocates. A Law was likewise enacted, that the *Plebiscita*, or, a *Vote of the House of Commons*, should be of universal *Obligation*. Nay, in Time,

*Dionys.
lib. 2.*

the

the Method of enacting Laws was wholly inverted: For, whereas the Senate used of old to confirm the *Plebiscita*; the People did at last, as they pleased, confirm, or disannul, the *Senatusconsulta*.

Appius Claudius brought in a Custom of admitting to the Senate, the Sons of freed Men, or of such who had once been Slaves; by which, and succeeding Alterations of the like Nature, that great Council degenerated into a most corrupt and factious Body of Men divided against itself; and its Authority became despised.

The Century and half following, to the End of the third *Punick* War, by the Destruction of *Carthage*, was a very busy Period at *Rome*: The Intervals between every War being so short, that the *Tribunes* and *People* had hardly Leisure, or Breath to engage in domestick Dissentions: However, the little Time they could spare was generally employed the same Way. So *Terentius Leo*, a *Tribune*, is recorded to have basely prostituted the Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen, in perfect Spight of the *Nobles*. So the great *African Scipio* and his Brother, after all their mighty Services, were impeached by an ungrateful *Commons*.

However, the warlike Genius of the People, and continual Employment they had

had for it, served to divert this Humour from running into a Head, until the Age of the *Gracchi*.

These Persons entering the Scene, in the Time of a full Peace, fell violently upon advancing the Power of the People, by reducing into Practice all those Encroachments, which they had been so many Years gaining. There were, at that Time, certain *conquered Lands* to be divided; besides a *great private Estate left by a King*. These, the Tribunes, by Procurement of the elder *Gracchus*, declared by their legislative Authority, were not to be disposed of by the *Nobles*; but by the *Commons* only. The younger Brother pursued the same Design; and besides obtained a Law, that all *Italians* should vote at Elections, as well as the Citizens of *Rome*: In short, the whole Endeavours of them both perpetually turned upon retrenching the *Nobles* Authority in all Things, but especially in the Matter of *Judicature*. And although they both lost their Lives in those Pursuits, yet they traced out such Ways as were afterwards followed by *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, to the Ruin of the *Roman* Freedom and Greatness.

For, in the Time of *Marius*, *Saturninus*, a Tribune, procured a Law, that the Senate should be bound, by Oath, to agree to whatever the People would enact: And *Marius* himself,

himself, while he was in that Office of Tribune, is recorded to have, with great Industry, used all Endeavours for depressing the *Nobles*, and raising the People; particularly for cramping the former in their *Power of Judicature*; which was *their most antient inherent Right*.

Sylla, by the same Measures, became absolute Tyrant of *Rome*: He added Three Hundred Commons to the Senate, which perplexed the Power of the whole Order, and rendered it ineffectual; then, flinging off the Mask, he abolished the Office of Tribune, as being only a Scaffold to Tyranny; whereof he had no further Use.

As to *Pompey* and *Cæsar*; *Plutarch* tells us, that their Union for pulling down the *Nobles* (by their Credit with the People) was the Cause of the Civil War, which ended in the Tyranny of the latter; both of them, in their Consulships, having used all Endeavours and Occasions for sinking the Authority of the *Patricians*, and giving Way to all Encroachments of the People, wherein they expected best to find their own Account.

From this Deduction of popular Encroachments in *Rome*, the Reader will easily judge how much the Balance was fallen upon that Side. Indeed, by this Time the very Foundation was removed, and it was a moral Impossibility

possibility that the Republick could subsist any longer: For, the Commons having usurped the Offices of the State, and trampled on the Senate, there was no Government left but a *Dominatio Plebis*: Let us, therefore, examine, how they proceeded in this Conjunction.

I think it is an universal Truth, that the People are much more dextrous at pulling down, and setting up, than at preserving what is fixed: And they are not fonder of seizing more than their own, than they are of delivering it up again to the *worse Bidder*, with their own into the Bargain. For although, in their corrupt Notions of Divine Worship, they are apt to multiply their Gods; yet their earthly Devotion is seldom paid to above one Idol at a Time of their own Creation; whose *Oar* they pull with less Murmuring, and much more Skill, than when they *share the Lading*, or even *hold the Helm*.

The several Provinces of the *Roman* Empire were now governed by the great Men of their State; those upon the Frontiers with powerful Armies, either for Conquest, or Defence. These Governors upon any Designs of Revenge, or Ambition, were sure to meet with a divided Power at Home; and therefore bent all their Thoughts and Applications to close in with the People;

who were now, by many Degrees, the stronger Party. Two of the greatest Spirits that *Rome* ever produced happened to live at the same Time, and to be engaged in the same Pursuit; and this at a Juncture the most dangerous for such a Contest. These were *Pompey* and *Cæsar*; two Stars of such a Magnitude, that their *Conjunction* was as likely to be fatal, as their *Opposition*.

The *Tribunes* and People, having now subdued all Competitors, began the last Game of a prevalent Populace, which is that of chusing themselves a *Master*; while the Nobles foresaw, and used all Endeavours left them to prevent it. The People, at first, made *Pompey* their Admiral, with full Power over all the *Mediterranean*; soon after Captain-General of all the *Roman* Forces, and Governor of *Asia*. *Pompey*, on the other Side, restored the Office of *Tribune*, which *Sylla* had put down; and, in his Consulship, procured a Law for *examining into the Mis-carriages of Men in Office, or Command, for twenty Years past*. Many other Examples of *Pompey's* Popularity are left us on Record, who was a perfect Favourite of the People, and designed to be more; but his Pretensions grew stale, for want of a timely Opportunity to introduce them upon the Stage. For *Cæsar*, with his Legions in *Gaul*, was a perpetual Check upon his Designs, and in the

the Arts of pleasing the People did soon after get many Lengths beyond him. He telleth us himself, that the Senate, by a bold Effort, having made some severe Decrees against his Proceedings, and against the Tribunes; these all left the City, and went over to his Party, and consequently along with them the Affections and Interests of the People; which is further manifest, from the Accounts he giveth us of the Citizens, in several Towns, mutinying against their Commanders, and delivering both to his Devotion. Besides, *Cæsar's* publick and avowed Pretensions for beginning the Civil War were to restore the Tribunes and the People, oppressed (as he pretended) by the *Nobles*.

This forced *Pompey*, against his Inclinations, upon the Necessity of changing Sides, for Fear of being forsaken by both; and of closing in with the Senate and chief Magistrates, by whom he was chosen General against *Cæsar*.

Thus, at length, the *Senate* (at least the primitive Part of them, the *Nobles*) under *Pompey*, and the *Commons* under *Cæsar*, came to a final Decision of the long Quarrels between them. For, I think, the Ambition of private Men did, by no Means, begin, or occasion this War; although Civil Dissensions never fail of introducing; and spiriting the Ambition of private Men; who thus be-

come, indeed, the great Instruments for the deciding of such Quarrels, and at last are sure to seize on the Prize. But no Man, who sees a Flock of Vultures hovering over two Armies ready to engage, can justly charge the Blood drawn in the Battle to them, although the Carcases fall to their Share. For, while the Balance of Power is equally held, the Ambition of private Men, whether great Commanders or Orators, giveth neither Danger nor Fear, nor can possibly enslave their Country; but, That once broken, the divided Parties are forced to unite each to its Head; under whose Conduct, or Fortune, one Side is, at first, victorious, and, at last, both are Slaves. And, to put it past Dispute, that this intire Subversion of the *Roman* Liberty and Constitution, was altogether owing to those Measures which had broke the Balance between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*; whereof the Ambition of particular Men was but an Effect and Consequence; we need only consider, that when the uncorrupted Part of the Senate had, by the Death of *Cæsar*, made one great Effort to restore their former State and Liberty, the Success did not answer their Hopes; but that whole Assembly was so sunk in its Authority, that those Patriots were forced to fly, and give way to the Madness of the People; who, by their own Dispositions, stirred up
with

with the Harangues of their Orators, were now wholly bent upon single and despotick Slavery. Else, how could such a Profligate as *Antony*, or a Boy of Eighteen like *Octavius*, ever dare to dream of giving the Law to such an Empire and People? Wherein the latter succeeded, and entailed the vilest Tyranny that Heaven, in its Anger, ever inflicted on a corrupt and poisoned People: And this with so little Appearance, at *Cæsar's* Death, that when *Cicero* wrote to *Brutus*, how he had prevailed by his Credit with *Octavius*, to promise him [*Brutus*] Pardon and Security for his Person; that Great Roman received the Notice with the utmost Indignity, and returned *Cicero* an Answer (yet upon Record) full of the highest Resentment and Contempt for such an Offer, and from such a Hand.

Here ended all Shew, or Shadow of Liberty in *Rome*: Here was the Repository of all the wise Contentions and Struggles for Power, between the Nobles and Commons, lapped up safely in the Bosom of a *Nero* and a *Caligula*, a *Tiberius* and a *Domitian*.

Let us now see from this Deduction of particular Impeachments, and general Dissensions in *Greece* and *Rome*, what Conclusions may naturally be formed for Instruction of any other State, that may, haply, upon many Points, labour under the like Circumstances.

C H A P. IV.

U P O N the Subject of *Impeachments* we may observe, that the Custom of accusing the *Nobles* to the *People*, either by themselves, or their Orators, (now stiled, *An Impeachment in the Name of the Commons*) hath been very antient, both in *Greece* and *Rome*, as well as *Carthage*; and therefore may seem to be the inherent Right of a free People; nay, perhaps, it is really so: But then it is to be considered, *First*, that this Custom was peculiar to Republicks; or such States where the Administration lay principally in the Hands of the Commons; and ever raged more, or less, according to their Encroachments upon absolute Power; having always been looked upon, by the wisest Men, and best Authors of those Times, as an Effect of Licentiousness, and not of Liberty; a Distinction which no Multitude, either *represented* or *collective*, hath been, at any Time, very nice in observing. However,

ever, perhaps, this Custom, in a popular State, of impeaching particular Men, may seem to be nothing else but the People's chusing, upon Occasion, to exercise their own Jurisdiction in Person; as if a King of *England* should sit as Chief Justice in his Court of *King's-Bench*; which, they say, in former Times he sometimes did. But in *Sparta*, which was called a kingly Government, although the People were perfectly free; yet, because the Administration was in the two Kings, and the *Ephori*, (with the Assistance of the Senate) we read of no Impeachments by the People; nor was the Process against Great Men, either upon Account of Ambition, or ill Conduct, although it reached sometimes to Kings themselves, ever formed that Way, as I can recollect; but only passed through those Hands where the Administration lay. So likewise, during the regal Government in *Rome*, although it were instituted a mixt Monarchy, and the People made great Advances in Power; yet I do not remember to have read of one Impeachment from the Commons against a Patrician, until the Consular State began, and the People had made great Encroachments upon the Administration.

Another Thing to be considered is, that allowing this Right of Impeachment to be as inherent as they please; yet, if the Com-

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mons have been perpetually mistaken in the Merits of the Causes and the Persons, as well as in the Consequences of such Impeachments upon the Peace of the State; we cannot conclude less, than that the Commons in *Greece* and *Rome*, (whatever they may be in other States) were, by no Means, qualified either as Prosecutors, or Judges, in such Matters; and therefore, that it would have been prudent, to reserve these Privileges dormant, never to be produced but upon very great and urging Occasions, where the State is in apparent Danger, the universal Body of the People in Claimours against the Administration, and no other Remedy in View. But for a few popular Orators, or Tribunes, upon the Score of *personal Piques*; or to employ the *Pride* they conceive in seeing themselves at the Head of a Party; or as a Method for Advancement; or moved by certain powerful Arguments, that could make Demosthenes *Philippize*: For such Men, I say, when the State would, of itself, gladly be quiet, and hath besides Affairs of the last Importance upon the Anvil; to impeach* Miltiades after a great Naval Victory, for
not

* *Miltiades* here seemeth to mean Lord Orford, although in other Passages that Lord's Character is supposed to be drawn under the Name of *Themistocles*, who was not impeached at all.

not pursuing the Persian Fleet: To impeach Aristides, the Person most versed among them in the Knowledge and Practice of their Laws, for a blind Suspicion of his acting in an arbitrary Way; that is, as they expound it, not in concert with the People: To impeach Pericles, after all his Services, for a few inconsiderable Accounts; or to impeach Phocion, who had been guilty of no other Crime, but negotiating a Treaty for the Peace and Security of his Country: What could the Continuance of such Proceedings end in, but the utter Discouragement of all virtuous Actions and Persons, and consequently in the Ruin of a State? Therefore, the Historians of those Ages, seldom fail to set this Matter in all its Lights; leaving us the highest and most honourable Ideas of those Persons, who suffered by the Persecution of the People, together with the fatal Consequences they had; and how the Prosecutors seldom failed to repent when it was too late.

These Impeachments perpetually falling upon many of the best Men, both in Greece and Rome, are a Cloud of Witnesses, and Examples enough to discourage Men of Virtue and Abilities from engaging in the Service of the Publick; and help, on the other Side, to introduce the Ambitious, the Covetous, the Superficial, and the Ill-designing; who are as apt to be bold, and forward,

ward, and meddling, as the former are to be cautious, and modest, and reserved. This was so well known in *Greece*, that an Eagerness after Employments in the State was looked upon by wise Men, as the worst Title a Man could set up; and made *Plato* say, *That if all Men were as good as they ought, the Quarrel in a Commonwealth would be, not as it is now, who should be Minister of States, but who should not be so.* And *Socrates* is introduced by *Xenophon* severely

Lib. chiding a Friend of his for not

Memorab. entering into the publick Service, when he was every Way qualified for it. Such a Backwardness there was at that Time among good Men to engage with an usurping People, and a Set of *pragmatical ambitious Orators.*

Lib. II. And *Diodorus* telleth us, that when the *Petalism* was erected at *Syracuse*, in Imitation of the * *Ostracism* at *Athens*, it was so notoriously levelled against all who had either Birth or Merit to recommend them, that whoever possessed either withdrew for Fear, and would have no Concern

* *Ostracism* was a Manner of passing Sentence to Banishment, in which the Name of the Person suspected was marked upon a Shell, which the Voter threw into an Urn.—*Petalism* (mentioned above) was a Sentence nearly of the same Kind, the Name being wrote on a Leaf.

cern in publick Affairs. So that the People themselves were forced to abrogate it for Fear of bringing all Things into Confusion.

There is one Thing more to be observed, wherein all the popular Impeachments in *Greece* and *Rome* seem to have agreed; and that was, a Notion they had of being concerned in *Point of Honour* to condemn whatever Person they impeached, however frivolous the Articles were upon which they began; or however weak the Surmises, whereon they were to proceed in their Proofs. For, to conceive, that the Body of the People could be mistaken, was an Indignity not to be imagined, until the Consequences had convinced them when it was past Remedy. And I look upon this as a Fate to which all popular Accusations are subject; although I should think that the Saying, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, ought to be understood of the universal Bent and Current of a People; not the bare Majority of a few Representatives; which is often procured by *little Arts*, and great Industry and Application; wherein those, who engage in the Pursuits of Malice and Revenge, are much more sedulous than such as would prevent them.

From what hath been deduced of the *Dissentions* in *Rome*, between the two Bodies of *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, several Reflections may be made.

First,

First, That when the Balance of Power is duly fixed in a State, nothing is more dangerous and unwise than to give Way to the *first Steps* of popular Encroachments; which is usually done either in Hopes of procuring Ease and Quiet from some vexatious Clamour; or else *made Merchandize, and merely bought and sold*. This is breaking into a Constitution to serve a present Expedient or supply a present Exigency: The Remedy of an Empirick to stifle the present Pain, but with certain Prospect of sudden and terrible Returns, When a Child groweth easy and content by being humoured, and when a Lover becometh satisfied by small Compliances, without further Pursuits; then expect to find popular Assemblies content with small Concessions. If there could one single Example be brought from the whole Compass of History of any one popular Assembly, who, after beginning to contend for Power, ever sat down quietly with a certain Share: Or, if one Instance could be produced of a popular Assembly, that ever knew, or proposed, or declared, what Share of Power was their Due; then might there be some Hopes that it were a Matter to be adjusted by Reasonings, by Conferences, or Debates: But, since all that is manifestly otherwise, I see no other Course to be taken in a settled State, than a steady constant Resolution in
those

those to whom the rest of the Balance is entrusted, never to give Way so far to popular Clamours, as to make the least Breach in the Constitution; through which a Million of Abuses and Encroachments will certainly in Time force their Way.

Again, From this Deduction, it will not be difficult to gather and assign certain Marks of popular Encroachments; by observing of which, those who hold the Balance in a State may judge of the Degrees, and, by early Remedies and Application, put a Stop to the fatal Consequences that would otherwise ensue. What those Marks are, hath been at large deduced, and need not be here repeated.

Another Consequence is this, That (with all Respect for popular Assemblies be it spoke) it is hard to recollect one Folly, Infirmary, or Vice, to which a single Man is subjected, and from which a Body of Commons either collective or represented can be wholly exempt. For, besides that they are composed of Men with all their Infirmities about them; they have also the ill Fortune to be generally led and influenced by the very worst among themselves: I mean, *Popular Orators, Tribunes*; or, as they are now stiled, *Great Speakers, Leading Men*, and the like. From whence it cometh to pass, that in their Results we have sometimes found

found the same Spirit of Cruelty and Revenge, of Malice and Pride; the same Blindness, and Obstinacy, and Unsteadiness; the same ungovernable Rage and Anger; the same Injustice, Sophistry, and Fraud, that ever lodged in the Breast of any Individual.

Again, in all Free States the Evil to be avoided is *Tyranny*; that is to say, the *Summa Imperii*, or unlimited Power solely in the Hands of the *One*, the *Few*, or the *Many*. Now, we have shewn, that although most Revolutions of Government in *Greece* and *Rome* began with the Tyranny of the People, yet they generally concluded in that of a single Person: So that an usurping Populace is its own *Dupe*; a meer Underworker, and a Purchaser in Trust for some single Tyrant; whose State and Power they advance to their own Ruin, with as blind an Instinct, as those Worms that die, with weaving magnificent Habits for Beings of a superior Nature to their own.

C H A P. V.

SOME Reflections upon the late publick Proceedings among us, and that Variety of Factions, into which we are so intricately engaged, gave Occasion to this Discourse. I am not conscious that I have forced one Example, or put it into any other Light than it appeared to me, long before I had Thoughts of producing it.

I cannot conclude without adding some particular Remarks upon the present Posture of Affairs, and Dispositions in this Kingdom.

The Fate of Empire is growing a Common-Place: That all Forms of Government having been instituted by Men must be mortal like their Authors, and have their Periods of Duration limited, as well as those of private Persons; this is a Truth of vulgar Knowledge and Observation. But there are few who turn their Thoughts to examine
how

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how these Diseases in a State are bred, that hasten its End; which would, however, be a very useful Enquiry. For, although we cannot prolong the Period of a Commonwealth beyond the Decree of Heaven, or the Date of its Nature, any more than human Life, beyond the Strength of Seminal Virtue; yet we may manage a sickly Constitution, and preserve a strong one; we may watch and prevent Accidents; we may turn off a great Blow from without, and purge away an ill Humour that is lurking within: And by these and other such Methods, render a State long-lived, although not immortal. Yet some Physicians have thought that if it were possible to keep the several Humours of the Body, in an exact equal Balance of each with its opposite, it might be immortal; and so perhaps would a political Body, if the Balance of Power could be always held exactly even. But I doubt, this is almost as impossible in the Practice as the other.

It hath an Appearance of Fatality, and that the Period of a State approacheth, when a Concurrence of many Circumstances, both within and without, unite towards its Ruin; while the whole Body of the People are either stupidly negligent, or else giving in with all their Might, to those very Practices that are working their Destruction. To see whole
Bodies

Bodies of Men breaking a Constitution by the very same Errors that so many have been broke before: To observe opposite Parties, who can agree in nothing else, yet firmly united in such Measures as must certainly ruin their Country: In short, to be encompassed with the greatest Dangers from without; to be torn by many virulent Factions within; then to be secure and senseless under all this, and to make it the very least of our Concern: These, and some others that might be named, appear to me to be the most likely Symptoms in a State of a *Sickness unto Death*.

*Quod procul à nobis flectat Fortuna gubernans;
Et ratio potius, quam res persuadeat ipsa.*

LUCR.

There are some Conjunctions wherein the Death or Dissolution of Government is more lamentable in its Consequences than it would be in others. And, I think, a State can never arrive to its Period in a more deplorable *Crisis*, than at a Time when some *Prince in the Neighbourhood*, of vast Power and Ambition, lieth hovering like a Vulture to devour, or at least dismember its dying Carcase; by which Means, it becometh only a Province or Acquisition to some mighty Monarchy, without Hopes of a Resurrection.

I know very well, there is a Sett of sanguine Tempers, who deride and ridicule in the Number of Fopperies all such Apprehensions as these. They have it ready in their Mouths, that the People of *England* are of a Genius and Temper never to admit Slavery among them; and they are furnished with a great many Common Places upon that Subject. But it seemeth to me, that such Discourfers do reason upon short Views, and a very moderate Compass of Thought. For, I think it a greater Error to count upon the Genius of a Nation as a standing Argument in all Ages; since there is hardly a Spot of Ground in *Europe*, where the Inhabitants have not frequently and entirely changed their Temper and Genius. Neither can I see any Reason, why the Genius of a Nation should be more fixed in the Point of Government, than in their Morals, their Learning, their Religion, their common Humour and Conversation, their Diet, and their Complexion; which do all notoriously vary, almost in every Age; and may, every one of them, have great Effects upon Mens Notions of Government.

Since the *Norman* Conquest, the Balance of Power in *England* hath often varied, and sometimes been wholly overturned: The Part which the Commons had in it, *that most disputed Point in its Original, Progress, and*
Extent,

Extent, was, by their own Confessions, but a very inconsiderable Share. Generally speaking, they have been gaining ever since, although with frequent Interruptions, and slow Progress. The abolishing of *Villanage*, together with the Custom introduced (or permitted) among the Nobles of selling their Lands in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, was a mighty Addition to the Power of the Commons; yet I think a much greater happened in the Time of his Successor, at the Dissolution of the Abbies: For this turned the *Clergy* wholly out of the Scale, who had so long filled it; and placed the *Commons* in their Stead; who in a few Years became possessed of vast Quantities of those and other Lands, by Grant or Purchase. About the Middle of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, I take the Power between the Nobles and the Commons to have been in more equal Balance than it was ever before or since. But, then, or soon after, arose a Faction in *England*; which, under the Name of *Puritan*, began to grow popular, by molding up their new Schemes of Religion with *Republican* Principles in Government; who gaining upon the *Prerogative*, as well as the *Nobles*, under several Denominations, for the Space of about sixty Years, did at last overthrow the Constitution; and, according to the usual Course of such Revolutions, did intro-

duce a Tyranny, first of the People, and then of a single Person.

In a short Time after the old Government was revived. But the Progress of Affairs for almost thirty Years, under the Reigns of two weak Princes, * is a Subject of a very different Nature, when the Balance was in Danger to be overturned by the Hands that held it; which was, at last, very seasonably prevented by the late Revolution. However, as it is the Talent of human Nature to run from one Extream to another; so, in a very few Years, we have made mighty Leaps from Prerogative Heights into the Depths of Popularity; and, I doubt, to the very last Degree that our Constitution will bear. It were to be wished, that the most august Assembly of the Commons would please to form a *Pandeet* of their own Power and Privileges, to be confirmed by the entire legislative Authority; and that in as solemn a Manner (if they please) as the *Magna Charta*. But to fix one Foot of their Compass wherever they think fit, and extend the other to such terrible Lengths, without describing any Circumference at all; is to leave us, and themselves, in a very uncertain State, and in a Sort of *Rotation*, that the †

Author

* Charles II. and James II.

† Mr. James Harrington was bred at Oxford, travelled into Germany, France, Denmark, and Holland, and made

Author of the *Oceana* never dreamt on. I believe the most hardy Tribune will not venture to affirm, at present, that any just Fears of Encroachment are given us from the Regal Power, or the *Few*: And is it then im-

F 3

possible

made himself Master of the Languages of those Countries. On his Return from his Travels, he was admitted of the Privy-Chamber Extraordinary to King *Charles I.* whom he served with great Fidelity, always using his best Endeavours to reconcile the King and the Parliament. He found Means to see his Majesty at *St. James's* before his Martyrdom, and attended him to the Scaffold, where he received a Token of that Prince's Affection before his Execution. He grew melancholy, and retired soon after the King's Death, during which Time he wrote his *OCEANA*, which hath since made so much Noise in the World, being attacked by many different Writers. He instituted a nightly Meeting of some Gentlemen of Republican Principles, under the Name of the *ROTA*, which continued until the 21st of *February*, 1659, when the secluded Members of Parliament being restored by General *Monk*, all their Schemes of Government vanished. Mr. *Harrington* was committed Prisoner to the Tower in 1661, for treasonable Practices; but a Committee of Lords and Commons not being able to make any Thing of them, he was conveyed to *St. Nicholas Island*, and from thence to *Plymouth*, where he fell into an uncommon Disorder of Imagination. But having obtained his Liberty, he was carried to *London*, where he died *September 17*, 1677. One Scheme in his *OCEANA*, or that of the Club of Gentlemen called the *ROTA*, was proposed by Mr. *Henry Nevill* to the House of Commons, "That a third Part of the Senate should rote out by Ballot every Year, and be incapable of being elected again for three Years after."

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possible to err on the other Side? How far must we proceed? Or where shall we stop? *The Raging of the Sea, and the Madness of the People,* are put together in Holy Writ; and it is God, alone, who can say to either, *Hitherto shalt thou pass, and no farther.*

The Balance of Power, in a limited State, is of such absolute Necessity, that *Cromwell* himself, before he had perfectly confirmed his Tyranny, having some Occasions for the Appearance of a Parliament, was forced to create and erect an intire new House of Lords (such as it was) for a Counterpoise to the Commons. And, indeed, considering the Vileness of the Clay, I have sometimes wondered, that no Tribune of that Age durst ever venture to ask the *Potter, What dost thou make?* But it was then about the last Act of a popular Usurpation; and *Fate, or Cromwell,* had already prepared them for that of a single Person.

I have been often amazed at the rude, passionate, and mistaken Results, which have, at certain Times, fallen from great Assemblies, both antient and modern; and of other Countries as well as our own. This gave me the Opinion I mentioned a while ago; that publick Conventions are liable to all the Infirmities, Follies, and Vices of private Men. To which, if there be any Exception, it must be of such Assemblies, who act by
universal

universal Concert, upon publick Principles, and for publick Ends; such as proceed upon Debates without unbecoming Warmths, or Influence from particular Leaders and Inflamers; such, whose Members, instead of canvassing to procure Majorities for their private Opinions, are ready to comply with general sober Results, although contrary to their own Sentiments. Whatever Assemblies act by these, and other Methods of the like Nature, must be allowed to be exempt from several Imperfections, to which particular Men are subjected. But I think, the Source of most Mistakes and Miscarriages, in Matters debated by publick Assemblies, ariseth from the Influence of private Persons upon great Numbers; stiled in common Phrase, *leading Men and Parties.* And therefore, when we sometimes meet a *few Words* put together, which is called the *Vote, or Resolution* of an Assembly, and which we cannot possibly reconcile to *Prudence, or publick Good*; it is most charitable to conjecture, that such a Vote hath been conceived, and born, and bred in a private Brain; afterwards raised and supported by an obsequious Party; and then, with usual Methods confirmed by an *artificial Majority.* For, let us suppose five Hundred Men, mixed, in Point of Sense and Honesty, as usually Assemblies are; and let us suppose these Men

proposing, debating, resolving, voting, according to the meer natural Motionst^of their own little, or much Reason and Understanding; I do allow, that Abundance of indigested and abortive, many pernicious and foolish Overtures would arise, and float a few Minutes; but then they would die, and disappear. Because, this must be said in Behalf of human Kind; that common Sense, and plain Reason, while Men are disengaged from acquired Opinions, will ever have some general Influence upon their Minds; whereas, the Species of Folly and Vice are infinite, and so different in every Individual, that they could not procure a Majority, if other Corruptions did not enter to pervert Mens Understandings, and misguide their Wills.

To describe how Parties are bred in an Assembly, would be a Work too difficult at present, and perhaps not altogether safe. *Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ*. Whether those who are Leaders usually arrive at that Station, more by a Sort of Instinct, or secret Composition of their Nature, or Influence of the Stars, than by the Possession of any great Abilities, may be a Point of much Dispute: But when the Leader is once fixed, there will never fail to be Followers. And Man is so apt to *imitate*, so much of the Nature of *Sheep*, (*Imitatores, servum Pecus*)
that

that whoever is so bold to give the first *great Leap over the Heads of those about him*, (although he be the worst of the Flock) shall be quickly followed by the rest. Besides; when Parties are once formed, the Stragglers look so ridiculous, and become so insignificant, that they have no other Way, but to run into the Herd, which, at least, will hide and protect them; and where, to be much considered, requireth only to be very violent.

But there is one Circumstance, with relation to Parties, which I take to be, of all others, most pernicious in a State; and I would be glad any Partizan would help me to a tolerable Reason, that because *Clodius* and *Curio* happen to agree with me in a few singular Notions, I must therefore blindly follow them in all: Or, to state it at best, that because *Bibulus*, the *Party-Man*, is persuaded that *Clodius* and *Curio* do really propose the Good of their Country, as their chief End; therefore *Bibulus* shall be wholly guided and governed by them, in the Means and Measures towards it. It is enough for *Bibulus*, and the rest of the Herd to say, without further examining, *I am of the Side with Clodius, or I vote with Curio*. Are these proper Methods to form and make up what they think fit to call the *united Wisdom of the Nation*? Is it not possible, that, upon Occasions,

Occasions, *Clodius* may be bold and insolent, born away by his Passion, malicious and revengeful; that *Curio* may be corrupt, and expose to Sale his Tongue, or his Pen? I conceive it far below the Dignity, both of human Nature, and human Reason, to be engaged in any Party, the most plausible soever, upon such servile Conditions.

This Influence of *One* upon *Many*, which seemeth to be as great in a People *represented*, as it was of old in the Commons *collective*, together with the Consequences it hath had upon the Legislature, hath given me frequent Occasion to reflect upon what *Diodorus* telleth us of one *Charondas*, a Law-giver to the *Sybarites*, an antient People of *Italy*; who was so averse from all Innovation (especially when it was to proceed from particular Persons; and I suppose, that he might put it out of the Power of Men, fond of their own Notions, to disturb the Constitution at their Pleasures, by advancing private Schemes) as to provide a Statute, that whoever proposed any Alteration to be made; should step out, and do it with a Rope about his Neck. If the Matter proposed were generally approved, then it should pass into a Law; if it went in the Negative, the Proposer to be immediately *hanged*. Great Ministers may talk of what Projects they please; but I am deceived, if a more effectual one could

could ever be found, for *taking off* (as the present Phrase is) those hot unquiet Spirits, who disturb Assemblies, and obstruct publick Affairs, by gratifying their Pride, their Malice, their Ambition, their Vanity, or their Avarice.

Those who, in a late Reign, began the Distinction between the *personal* and *political* Capacity, seem to have had Reason, if they judged of Principles by themselves: For, I think, there is hardly to be found, through all Nature, a greater Difference between two Things, than there is between a representing Commoner, in the Function of his publick Calling, and the same Person, when he acteth in the common Offices of Life. Here, he alloweth himself to be upon a Level with the rest of Mortals: Here, he followeth his own Reason, and his own Way; and rather affecteth a Singularity in his Actions and Thoughts, than servilely to copy either from the wisest of his Neighbours. In short, here, his Folly and his Wisdom, his Reason and his Passions, are all of his own Growth; not the Echo, or Infusion of other Men. But when he is got near the Walls of his Assembly, he assumeth, and affecteth an entire Set of very different Airs; he conceiveth himself a Being of a superior Nature to those *without*, and acting in a Sphere where the vulgar Methods for the Conduct
of

of human Life can be of no Use. He is listed in a Party, where he neither knows the Temper, nor Designs, nor perhaps the Person of his Leader; but whose Opinion he followeth and maintaineth, with a Zeal and Faith as violent, as a young Scholar does those of a Philosopher, whose Sect he is taught to profess. He hath neither Opinions, nor Thoughts, nor Actions, nor Talk, that he can call his own, but all conveyed to him by his Leader, as Wind is through an Organ. The Nourishment he receiveth hath not been only *chewed*, but *digested*, before it cometh into his Mouth. Thus instructed, he followeth his *Party*, right or wrong, through all its Sentiments; and acquireth a Courage, and Stiffness of Opinion, not at all congenial with him.

This encourageth me to hope, that, during the present lucid Interval, the Members, retired to their Homes, may suspend a while their *acquired Complexions*; and, taught by the Calmness of the Scene and the Season, re-assume the Sedateness of their Temper. If this should be so, it would be wise in them, as individual and private Mortals, to look back a little upon the Storms they have *raised*, as well as those they have *escaped*: To reflect that they have been Authors of a new and wonderful Thing in *England*; which is, for a House of Commons to lose the universal

versal Favour of the Numbers they represent: To observe, how those whom they thought fit to persecute for Righteousness Sake have been openly caressed by the People; and to remember, how themselves sat in Fear of their Persons from popular Rage. Now, if they would know the Secret of all this unprecedented Proceedings in their *Masters*, they must not impute it to their Freedom in Debate, or declaring their Opinions; but to that unparliamentary Abuse of setting Individuals upon their Shoulders, who were hated by God and Man. For, it seemeth, the Mass of the People, in such Conjectures as this, have opened their Eyes, and will not indure to be governed by *Clo-dius* and *Curio*, at the Head of their *Myrmidons*; although these be ever so numerous, and composed of their own Representatives.

This Aversion of the People against the late Proceedings of the Commons is an Accident, that, if it last a While, might be improved to good Uses for setting the Balance of Power a little more upon an Equality, than their late Measures seem to promise or admit. This Accident may be imputed to two Causes: The first is an universal Fear and Apprehension of the Greatness and Power of *France*, whereof the People in general seem to be very much and justly possessed; and therefore cannot but resent
to

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to see it, in so critical a Juncture, wholly laid aside by their *Ministers*, the Commons. The other Cause is a great Love and Sense of Gratitude in the People towards their present King; grounded upon a long Opinion and Experience of his Merit, as well as Concessions to all their reasonable Desires; so that it is for some Time that they have begun to say, and fetch Instances where he hath, in many Things, been hardly used. How long those Humours may last (for Passions are momentary, and especially those of a Multitude) or what Consequences they may produce, a little Time will discover. But, whenever it cometh to pass, that a popular Assembly, free from such Obstructions, and already possessed of more Power than an equal Balance will allow, shall continue to think they have not enough; but by cramping the Hand that holdeth the Balance, and by Impeachments or Dissentions with the Nobles, endeavour still for more; I cannot possibly see, in the common Course of Things, how the same Causes can produce different Effects and Consequences among us, from what they did in *Greece* and *Rome*.

A
MEDITATION
UPON A
BROOM-STICK:

ACCORDING TO

The Style and Manner of the Hon^{ble}.
ROBERT BOYLE's Meditations.

Written in the Year 1707.

THIS single Stick, which you now behold ingloriously lying in that neglected Corner, I once knew in a flourishing State in a Forest: It was full of Sap, full of Leaves, and full of Boughs: But now in vain does the busy Art of Man pretend to vye with Nature, by tying that withered Bundle of Twigs to its sapless Trunk: It is now at best but the Reverse of what it was; a Tree turned upside down, the Branches on the Earth, and the Root in the Air:

Air: It is now handled by every dirty Wench, condemned to do her Drudgery; and, by a capricious Kind of Fate, destined to make other Things clean, and be nasty itself. At length, worn to the Stumps in the Service of the Maids, it is either thrown out of Doors, or condemned to the last Use of kindling a Fire. When I beheld this, I sigh'd, and said within myself, *Surely mortal Man is a Broomstick*; Nature sent him into the World strong and lusty, in a thriving Condition, wearing his own Hair on his Head, the proper Branches of this reasoning Vegetable; until the Axe of Intemperance hath lopped off his green Boughs, and left him a withered Trunk: He then flieth to Art, and putteth on a *Perriwig*; valuing himself upon an unnatural Bundle of Hairs, all covered with Powder, that never grew on his Head: But now, should this our *Broomstick* pretend to enter the Scene, proud of those *Birchen* Spoils it never bore, and all covered with Dust, although the Sweepings of the finest Lady's Chamber; we should be apt to ridicule and despise it's Vanity. Partial Judges that we are of our own Excellencies, and other Men's Defaults!

But a *Broomstick*, perhaps you will say, is an Emblem of a Tree standing on its Head; and pray what is Man but a topsy-turvy Creature? His animal Faculties perpetually
mounted

mounted on his rational, his Head where his Heels should be, groveling on the Earth. And yet, with all his Faults, he setteth up to be an universal Reformer and Corrector of Abuses; a Remover of Grievances; rāketh into every Slut's Corner of Nature, bringing hidden Corruptions to Light, and raiseth a mighty Dust where there was none before; sharing deeply all the while in the very same Pollutions he pretended to sweep away. His last Days are spent in Slavery to Women, and generally the least deserving, until worn to the Stumps, like his Brother *Bezom*, he is either kicked out of Doors, or made use of to kindle Flames for others to warm themselves by.

THE
SENTIMENTS
OF A

Church of England Man,

With Respect to

RELIGION and GOVERNMENT.

Written in the Year 1708.

WHOEVER hath examined the Conduct and Proceedings of both *Parties* for some Years past, whether in or out of Power, cannot well conceive it possible to go far towards the Extreame of either, without offering some Violence to his Integrity or Understanding. A wise and a good Man may, indeed, be sometimes induced to comply with a Number, whose Opinion he generally approveth, although it be perhaps against his own. But this Liberty should be made use of upon very few Occasions, and those of small Importance, and then only

only with a View of bringing over his own Side another Time to something of greater and more publick Moment. But to sacrifice the Innocency of a Friend, the Good of our Country, or our own Conscience, to the Humour, or Passion, or Interest of a Party, plainly shews, that either our Heads or our Hearts are not as they should be: Yet this very Practice is the fundamental Law of each Faction among us; as may be obvious to any who will impartially, and without Engagement, be at the Pains to examine their Actions; which however, is not so easy a Task: For it seemeth a Principle in Human Nature, to incline one Way more than another, even in Matters, where we are wholly unconcerned. And, it is a common Observation, that in reading a History of Facts done a Thousand Years ago; or standing by a Play among those who are perfect Strangers to us; we are apt to find our Hopes and Wishes engaged on a sudden in Favour of one Side more than another. No Wonder, then, that we are so ready to interest ourselves in the Course of publick Affairs; where the most inconsiderable have some real Share, and by the wonderful Importance, which every Man is of to himself, a very great *imaginary* one.

And indeed, when the two Parties that divide the whole Commonwealth come once

to a Rupture, without any Hopes left of forming a Third with better Principles to balance the others, it seemeth every Man's Duty to chuse one of the two Sides, altho' he cannot entirely approve of either; and all Pretences to Neutrality are justly exploded by both, being too stale and obvious; only intending the Safety and Ease of a few Individuals, while the Public is embroiled. This was the Opinion and Practice of the latter *Cato*, whom I esteem to have been the wisest and best of all the *Romans*. But before Things proceed to open Violence, the truest Service a private Man may hope to do his Country is, by unbiaſſing his Mind as much as possible, and then endeavouring to moderate between the Rival Powers, which must needs be owned a fair Proceeding with the World; because it is of all others the least consistent with the common Design of making a Fortune by the *Merit* of an *Opinion*.

I have gone as far as I am able in qualifying myself to be such a Moderator: I believe, I am no *Bigot* in Religion; and, I am sure, I am none in Government. I converse in full Freedom with many considerable Men of both Parties; and if not in equal Number, it is purely accidental and personal, as happening to be near the Court, and to have made Acquaintance there, more under one Ministry

Ministry than another. Then, I am not under the Necessity of declaring myself by the Prospect of an Employment. And lastly, if all this be not sufficient, I industriously conceal my Name; which wholly exempts me from any Hopes and Fears in delivering my Opinion.

In Consequence of this free Use of my Reason, I cannot possibly think so well or so ill of either Party as they would endeavour to persuade the World of each other, and of themselves. For Instance; I do not charge it upon the Body of the *Whigs*, or the *Tories*, that their several Principles lead them to introduce Presbytery, and the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, or a Commonwealth, and arbitrary Power. For, why should any Party be accused of a Principle which they solemnly disown and protest against? But to this they have a mutual Answer ready; they both assure us, that their Adversaries are not to be believed; that they disown their Principles out of Fear; which are manifest enough when we examine their Practices. To prove this, they will produce Instances, on one Side, either of avowed Presbyterians, or Persons of libertine and atheistical Tenets; and on the other of professed Papists, or such as are openly in the Interest of the abdicated Family. Now, it is very natural for all subordinate Sects and Denominations

in a State to side with some general Party, and to chuse that which they find to agree with themselves in some general Principle. Thus, at the *Restoration*, the *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptists*, *Independents*, and other *Sects*, did all with very good Reason unite and folder up their several Schemes to join against the *Church*; who, without Regard to their Distinctions, treated them all as equal Adversaries. Thus, our present Dissenters do very naturally close in with the Whigs, who profess *Moderation*, declare they abhor all Thoughts of *Persecution*, and think it hard, that those who differ only in a few *Ceremonies* and *Speculations* should be denied the Privilege and Profit of serving their Country in the highest Employments of State. Thus, the Atheists, Libertines, Despisers of Religion and Revelation in general, that is to say, all those who usually pass under the Name of *Free-Thinkers*, do properly join with the same Body; because they likewise preach up *Moderation*, and are not so over nice to distinguish between an unlimited Liberty of Conscience, and an unlimited Freedom of Opinion. Then, on the other Side, the professed Firmness of the *Tories* for Episcopacy, as an Apostolical Institution: Their Averſion from those *Sects* who lie under the Reproach of having once destroyed their Constitution, and who, they imagine, by too
indiscreet

indiscreet a Zeal for Reformation, have defaced the primitive Model of the Church: Next their Veneration for Monarchical Government in the common Course of Succession, and their Hatred to Republican Schemes. These, I say, are Principles which not only the Nonjuring Zealots profess, but even Papists themselves fall readily in with. And every Extream here mentioned flingeth a general Scandal upon the whole Body it pretendeth to adhere to.

But surely no Man whatever ought, in Justice, or good Manners, to be charged with Principles he actually disowneth, unless his Practices do openly, and without the least Room for Doubt, contradict his Profession: Not upon small Surmises, or because he has the Misfortune to have ill Men sometimes agree with him in a few general Sentiments. However, although the Extreames of *Whig* and *Tory* seem with little Justice to have drawn Religion into their Controversies, wherein they have small Concern; yet they have both borrowed one leading Principle from the Abuse of it; which is, to have built their several Systems of political Faith, not upon Enquiries after Truth, but upon Opposition to each other, upon injurious Appellations, charging their Adversaries with horrid Opinions, and then reproach-

ing them for the Want of Charity, *Est neuter falso.*

In order to remove these Prejudices, I have thought nothing could be more effectual than to describe the Sentiments of a *Church-of-England-Man*, with respect to *Religion* and *Government*. This I shall endeavour to do in such a Manner as may be liable to the least Objection from either Party; and which I am confident would be assented to by great Numbers in both, if they were not misled to those mutual Misrepresentations, by such Motives as they would be ashamed to own.

I shall begin with *Religion*.

And here, although it maketh an odd Sound, yet it is necessary to say, that whoever professeth himself a Member of the Church of *England*, ought to believe a God, and his Providence, together with revealed Religion, and the Divinity of *Christ*. For, beside those many Thousands, who (to speak in the Phrase of Divines) do practically deny all this by the Immorality of their Lives, there is no small Number, who in their Conversation and Writings, directly, or by Consequence, endeavour to overthrow it: Yet all these place themselves in the List of the National Church; although at the same Time (as it is highly reasonable) they are great Sticklers for Liberty of Conscience.

To

To enter upon Particulars: A *Church-of-England-Man* hath a true Veneration for the Scheme established among us of Ecclesiastical Government; and, although he will not determine whether Episcopacy be of Divine Right, he is sure it is most agreeable to primitive Institution; fittest, of all others, for preserving Order and Purity, and, under its present Regulations, best calculated for our Civil State: He should therefore think the Abolishment of that Order among us would prove a mighty Scandal and Corruption to our Faith, and manifestly dangerous to our Monarchy; nay, he would defend it by Arms against all the Powers on Earth, except our own Legislature; in which Case he would submit as to a general Calamity, a Dearth, or a Pestilence.

As to Rites, and Ceremonies, and Forms of Prayer, he allows there might be some useful Alterations; and more, which in the Prospect of uniting Christians might be very supportable, as Things declared in their own Nature indifferent; to which he therefore would readily comply, if the *Clergy*, or (although this be not so fair a Method) if the *Legislature* should direct: Yet, at the same Time he cannot altogether blame the former for their Unwillingness to consent to any Alteration; which, beside the Trouble, and perhaps Disgrace, would certainly never produce

produce the good Effects intended by it. The only Condition that could make it prudent, and just for the Clergy to comply in altering the Cereimonial, or any other indifferent Part, would be a firm Resolution in the Legislature, to interpose, by some strict and effectual Laws to prevent the rising and spreading of new Sects, how plausible soever, for the future; else there must never be an End: And it would be to act like a Man, who should pull down and change the Ornaments of his House, in Compliance to every one who was disposed to find Fault as he passed by; which, besides the perpetual Trouble and Expence, would very much damage, and perhaps in Time destroy the Building. Sects, in a State, seem only tolerated, with any Reason, because they are already spread; and because it would not be agreeable with so mild a Government, or so pure a Religion as ours, to use violent Methods against great Numbers of *mistaken* People, while they do not manifestly endanger the Constitution of either. But the greatest Advocates for general Liberty of Conscience will allow, that they ought to be checked in their Beginnings, if they will allow them to be an Evil at all; or, which is the same Thing, if they will only grant, it were better for the Peace of the State, that there should be none. But, while the
Clergy

Clergy consider the natural Temper of Mankind in general, or of our own Country in particular, what Assurances can they have, that any Compliance they shall make will remove the Evil of Dissention, while the Liberty still continueth of professing whatever new Opinions we please? Or how can it be imagined, that the Body of Dissenting Teachers, who must be all undone by such a Revolution, will not cast about some new Objections to with-hold their Flocks, and draw in fresh Profelytes by some further Innovations and Refinements.

Upon these Reasons, he is for tolerating such different Forms in religious Worship, as are already admitted; but, by no Means, for leaving it in the Power of those who are tolerated to advance their own Models upon the Ruin of what is already established; which it is natural for all Sects to desire, and which they cannot justify by any consistent Principles, if they do not endeavour; and yet, which they cannot succeed in, without the utmost Danger to the publick Peace.

To prevent these Inconveniencies, he thinketh it highly just, that all Rewards of Trust, Profit, or Dignity, which the State leaveth in the Disposal of the Administration, should be given only to those, whose Principles direct them to preserve the Constitution in all its Parts. In the late Affair
of

of *Occasional Conformity*, the general Argument of those who were against it was not, to deny it an Evil in itself, but that the Remedy proposed was violent, untimely, and improper; which is the Bishop of *Salisbury's* * Opinion, in the Speech he made and published against the Bill: But, however just their Fears, or Complaints might have been upon that Score, he thinketh it a little too gross, and precipitate to employ their Writers already in Arguments for repealing the *Sacramental Test*, upon no wiser a Maxim, than that no Man should, on the Account of Conscience, be deprived the Liberty of serving his Country; a Topick which may be equally applied to admit *Papists*, *Atheists*, *Mahometans*, *Heathens*. and *Jews*. If the Church wanteth Members of its own to employ in the Service of the Publick; or be so unhappily contrived, as to exclude from its Communion such Persons who are likeliest to have great Abilities; it is Time it should be altered and reduced into some more perfect, or, at least, more popular Form: But, in the mean while, it is not altogether improbable, that when those, who dislike the Constitution, are so very zealous in their Offers for the Service of their Country, they are not wholly unmindful of their Party, or of themselves.

The

* Dr. Burnet.

The *Dutch*, whose Practice is so often quoted to prove and celebrate the great Advantages of a general Liberty of Conscience, have yet a National Religion professed by all who bear Office among them: But why should they be a Precedent for us either in Religion or Government? Our Country differeth from theirs, as well in Situation, Soil, and Production of Nature, as in the Genius and Complexion of Inhabitants. They are a Commonwealth founded on a sudden, by a desperate Attempt in a desperate Condition, not formed or digested into a regular System, by mature Thought and Reason, huddled up under the Pressure of sudden Exigences; calculated for no long Duration, and hitherto subsisting by Accident in the Midst of contending Powers, who cannot yet agree about sharing it amongst them. These Difficulties do, indeed, preserve them from any great Corruptions, which their crazy Constitution would extreamly subject them to in a long Peace. That Confluence of People, in a persecuting Age, to a Place of Refuge nearest Hand, put them upon the Necessity of Trade, to which they wisely gave all Ease and Encouragement: And, if we could think fit to imitate them in this last Particular, there would need no more to invite Foreigners among us; who seem to think no farther, than how to secure their Property

Property and Conscience, without projecting any Share in that Government which gives them Protection; or calling it *Persecution* if it be denied them. But I speak it for the Honour of our Administration; that altho' our Sects are not so numerous as those in *Holland*; which, I presume, is not our *Fault*, and I wish may not be our *Misfortune*; we much excel them, and all *Christendom* besides, in our Indulgencies to tender Consciences*. One single Compliance with the National Form of receiving the Sacrament is all we require to qualify any Sectary among us for the greatest Employments in the State; after which he is at Liberty to rejoin his own Assemblies for the rest of his Life. Besides, I will suppose any of the numerous Sects in *Holland* to have so far prevailed, as to have raised a Civil War, destroyed their Government and Religion, and put their *Administrators* to Death; after which, I will suppose the People to have recovered all again, and to have settled on their old Foundation: Then I would put a Query, whether that Sect, which was the unhappy Instrument of all this Confusion, could reasonably expect to be entrusted for the future with the greatest Employments; or, indeed, to be hardly tolerated among them?

To

* When this was written, there was no Law against Occasional Conformity.

To go on with the Sentiments of a *Church-of-England-Man*: He doth not see how that mighty Passion for the Church, which some Men pretend, can well consist with those Indignities, and that Contempt they bestow on the Persons of the Clergy. It is a strange Mark whereby to distinguish *Highb-Church-Men*, that they are such, who imagine the Clergy can never be too *low*. He thinks the Maxims these Gentlemen are so fond of, that they are for an *humble* Clergy, is a very good one: And so is He; and for an humble Laity too; since Humility is a Virtue that perhaps equally befitteth and adorneth every Station of Life.

But then, if the Scriblers on the other Side freely speak the Sentiments of their Party; a Divine of the Church of *England* cannot look for much better Quarter from thence. You shall observe nothing more frequent in their weekly Prayers, than a Way of affecting to confound the Terms of *Clergy* and *Highb-Church*; of applying both indifferently, and then loading the latter with all the Calumny they can invent. They will tell you they honour a Clergyman, but talk, at the same Time, as if there were not Three in the Kingdom, who could fall in with their Definition. After the like Manner, they insult the *Universities*, as poisoned Fountains, and Corrupters of Youth.

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Now, it seemeth clear to me, that the *Whigs* might easily have procured, and maintained a Majority among the Clergy, and perhaps in the Universities, if they had not too much encouraged, or connived at this Intemperance of Speech, and Virulence of Pen, in the worst and most prostitute of their Party: Among whom there hath been, for some Years past, such a perpetual Clamour against the Ambition, the implacable Temper, and the Covetousness of the *Priesthood*: Such a Cant of *High-Church*, and *Persecution*, and being *Priest-ridden*; of many Reproaches about *narrow Principles*, or *Terms of Communion*: Then such scandalous Reflections on the Universities, for infecting the Youth of the Nation with arbitrary and *Jacobite* Principles; that it was natural for those, who had the Care of Religion and Education, to apprehend some general Design of altering the Constitution of both. And all this was the more extraordinary, because it could not easily be forgot, that whatever Opposition was made to the Usurpations of King *James*, proceeded altogether from the Church of *England*, and chiefly from the Clergy and one of the Universities. For, if it were of any Use to recal Matters of Fact, what is more notorious than that Prince's applying himself first to the Church of *England*, and, upon their Refusal to fall in with his

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his Measures, making the like Advances to the *Dissenters* of all Kinds, who readily and almost universally complied with him; affecting, in their numerous Addresses and Pamphlets, the Style of *Our Brethren the Roman Catholicks*; whose Interests they put on the same Foot with their own; and some of *Cromwell's* Officers took Posts in the Army raised against the Prince of *Orange*. These Proceedings of theirs they can only extenuate by urging the Provocations they had met from the Church in King *Charles's* Reign; which, although perhaps excusable upon the Score of human Infirmiti, are not, by any Means, a Plea of Merit, equal to the Constancy and Sufferings of the Bishops and Clergy; or of the Head and Fellows of *Magdalen* College; that furnished the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration with such powerful Arguments, to justify and promote the Revolution.

Therefore a *Church-of-England-Man* abhors the Humour of the Age, in delighting to fling Scandals upon the Clergy in general; which, besides the Disgrace to the Reformation, and to Religion itself, casteth an Ignominy upon the Kingdom, that it doth not deserve. We have no better Materials to compound the Priesthood of, than the Mass of Mankind, which, corrupted as it is, those who receive Orders must have some Vices

to leave behind them, when they enter into the Church; and if a few do still adhere, it is no Wonder, but rather a great one that they are no worse. Therefore he cannot think *Ambition*, or *Love of Power*, more justly laid to their Charge, than to other Men; because, that would be to make Religion itself, or at least the best Constitution of Church Government, answerable for the Errors and Depravity of human Nature.

Within these last two Hundred Years, all Sorts of Temporal Power have been wrested from the Clergy, and much of their Ecclesiastick: The Reason, or Justice of which Proceeding, I shall not examine; but that the Remedies were a little too violent, with respect to their *Possessions*, the Legislature hath lately confessed, by the Remission of their *first Fruits*. Neither do the common Libellers deny this; who in their Invectives only tax the Church with an unsatiable Desire of Power and Wealth, (equally common to all Bodies of Men as well as Individuals) but thank God, that the Laws have deprived them of both. However, it is worth observing the Justice of Parties: The Sects among us are apt to complain, and think it hard Usage to be reproached now, after fifty Years, for overturning the State, for the Murder of a King; and the Indignity of an Usurpation; yet these very Men, and their
Parti-

Partisans, are continually reproaching the Clergy, and laying to their Charge, the Pride, the Avarice, the Luxury, the Ignorance, and Superstition of *Popish* Times, for a thousand Years past.

He thinketh it a Scandal to Government, that such an unlimited Liberty should be allowed of publishing Books against those Doctrines in Religion, wherein all Christians have agreed; much more to connive at such Tracts as reject all Revelation, and, by their Consequences, often deny the very Being of a God. Surely, it is not a sufficient Attenuation for the Writers, that they profess much Loyalty to the present Government, and sprinkle, up and down, some Arguments in Favour of the *Dissenters*; that they dispute, as strenuously as they can, for Liberty of Conscience, and inveigh largely against all Ecclesiasticks, under the Name of *High-Church*; and, in short, under the Shelter of some popular Principles in Politicks and Religion, undermine the Foundations of all Piety and Virtue.

As he doth not reckon every Schism of that damnable Nature, which some would represent; so he is very far from closing with the new Opinion of those, who would make it no Crime at all; and argue at a wild Rate, that God Almighty is delighted with the Variety of Faith and Worship, as he is

with the Variety of Nature. To such Absurdities are Men carried by the Affectation of *Free-thinking*, and removing the *Prejudices of Education*; under which Head they have, for some Time, begun to lift *Morality* and *Religion*. It is certain, that before the Rebellion in 1641, although the Number of *Puritans*, (as they were then called) were as great as it is with us; and although they affected to follow Pastors of that Denomination, yet those Pastors had Episcopal Ordination, possessed Preferments in the Church, and were sometimes promoted to Bishopricks themselves. But a Breach, in the general Form of Worship, was, in those Days, reckoned so dangerous and sinful in itself, and so offensive to *Roman Catholics* at Home and Abroad, that it was too unpopular to be attempted: Neither, I believe, was the Expedient then found out, of maintaining separate Pastors out of private Purfes.

When a *Schism* is once spread in a Nation, there groweth, at length, a Dispute which are the Schismaticks. Without entering on the Arguments, used by both Sides among us, to fix the Guilt on each other; it is certain, that, in the Sense of the Law, the *Schism* lieth on that Side which opposeth itself to the Religion of the State. I leave it among *Divines* to dilate upon the Danger of *Schism*, as a Spiritual Evil; but I would consider

consider it only as a Temporal one. And I think it clear, that any great Separation from the established Worship, although to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an Occasion of endangering the publick Peace; because, it will compose a Body always in Reserve, prepared to follow any discontented Heads, upon the plausible Pretext of advancing *true Religion*, and opposing Error, Superstition, or Idolatry. For this Reason, *Plato* layeth it down as a Maxim, that *Men ought to worship the Gods, according to the Laws of the Country*; and he introduceth *Socrates*, in his last Discourse, utterly disowning the Crime, laid to his Charge, of *teaching new Divinities*, or Methods of Worship. Thus, the poor *Hugonets* of *France* were engaged in a Civil War, by the specious Pretences of some, who, under the Guise of Religion, sacrificed so many Thousand Lives to their own Ambition, and Revenge. Thus, was the whole Body of *Puritans* in *England* drawn to be the Instruments, or Abettors of all Manner of Villainy, by the Artifices of a *few Men*, whose * Designs, from the first, were levelled to destroy the Constitution both of Religion and Government. And thus, even in *Holland* itself, where it is pretended that the Variety

* Lord Clarendon's History..

of Sects live so amicably together, and in such perfect Obedience to the Magistrate; it is notorious, how a turbulent Party, joining with the *Arminians*, did, in the Memory of our Fathers, attempt to destroy the Liberty of that Republick. So that, upon the whole, where *Sects* are tolerated in a State, it is fit they should enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience, and every other Privilege of free-born Subjects, *to which no Power is annexed*. And, to preserve their Obedience upon all Emergencies, a Government cannot give them too much Ease, nor trust them with too little *Power*.

The *Clergy* are usually charged with a *persecuting Spirit*, which they are said to discover by an implacable Hatred against all *Dissenters*; and this appeareth to be more unreasonable, because they suffer less in their Interests by a *Toleration*, than any of the *Conforming Laity*: For while the *Church* remaineth in its present Form, no *Dissenter* can possibly have any Share in its Dignities, Revenues, or Power; whereas, by once receiving the Sacrament, he is rendered capable of the highest Employments in the State. And, it is very possible, that a narrow Education, together with a Mixture of human Infirmary, may help to beget, among some of the *Clergy in Possession*, such an Aversion and Contempt for all *Innovators*, as *Physicians* are

are apt to have for *Empiricks*, or *Lawyers* for *Pettifoggers*, or *Merchants* for *Pedlars*. But since the Number of Sectaries doth not concern the Clergy, either in Point of Interest or Conscience, (it being an Evil not in their Power to remedy) it is more fair and reasonable to suppose, their Dislike proceedeth from the Dangers they apprehend to the Peace of the Commonwealth; in the Ruin whereof they must expect to be the first and greatest Sufferers.

To conclude this Section, it must be observed, that there is a very good Word, which hath of late suffered much by both Parties; I mean MODERATION; which the one Side very justly disowneth, and the other as unjustly pretendeth to. Beside what passeth every Day in Conversation, any Man who reads the Papers published by Mr. * *Leshy*, and others of his Stamp, must needs conclude, that if this Author could make the Nation see his Adversaries, under the Colours he paints them in; we had nothing else to do, but rise as one Man, and destroy such Wretches from the Face of the Earth. On the other Side, how shall we excuse the

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Advo-

* Rev. Mr. *Charles Leshy*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, who wrote two Volumes of theological Works, and several political Tracts, in the Reigns of King *William* and Queen *Anne*, particularly, *The Rehearsal*.

Advocates for *Moderation*; among whom I could appeal to an hundred Papers of universal Approbation, by the Cause they were writ for, which lay such Principles to the whole Bodies of the *Tories*, as, if they were true, and believed; our next Business should, in Prudence, be to erect Gibbets in every Parish, and hang them out of the Way. But, I supposed it is presumed, the common People understand *Raillery*, or at least *Rhetorick*; and will not take *Hyperboles* in too literal a Sense; which, however, in some Junctures might prove a desperate Experiment. And this is *Moderation*, in the *modern* Sense of the Word; to which, speaking impartially, the Bigots of both Parties are *equally* entitled.

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

*The Sentiments of a Church-of-England-Man,
with respect to Government.*

WE look upon it as a very just Re-
proach, although we cannot agree
where to fix it; that there should be so much
Violence and Hatred in religious Matters,
among Men who agree in all Fundamentals,
and only differ in some Ceremonies; or, at
most, meer speculative Points. Yet, is not
this frequently the Case between contend-
ing Parties in a State? For Instance; do not
the Generality of *Whigs* and *Tories* among
us profess to agree in the same *Fundamentals*;
their Loyalty to the QUEEN, their Abjura-
tion of the *Pretender*, the Settlement of the
Crown in the *Protestant* Line, and a *Revo-
lution Principle*? Their Affection to the
Church

Church Established, with Toleration of *Dissenters*? Nay, sometimes they go farther, and pass over into each other's Principles; the *Whigs* become great Asserters of the Prerogative; and the *Tories* of the People's Liberty; these crying down almost the whole Set of Bishops, and those defending them; so that the Differences, fairly stated, would be much of a Sort with those in Religion among us; and amount to little more than, *who should take Place, or go in and out first, or kiss the Queen's Hand*; and what are these but a few *Court Ceremonies*? or *who should be in the Ministry*? And what is that to the Body of the Nation, but a meer *speculative Point*? Yet, I think, it must be allowed, that no religious Sects ever carried their mutual Aversions to greater Heights, than our State Parties have done; who, the more to inflame their Passions, have mixed religious and civil Animosities together; borrowing one of their Appellations from the Church, with the Addition of *High* and *Low*; how little soever their Disputes relate to the Term, as it is generally understood.

I now proceed to deliver the Sentiments of a *Church-of-England-Man*, with respect to Government.

He doth not think the Church of *England* so narrowly calculated, that it cannot fall in with any regular Species of Government;
nor

nor doth he think any one regular Species of Government more acceptable to God than another. The Three generally received in the *Schools* have all of them their several Perfections, and are subject to their several Depravations: However, few States are ruined by any Defect in their Institution, but generally by the Corruption of Manners; against which the best Institution is no long Security, and without which a very ill one may subsist and flourish: Whereof there are two pregnant Instances now in *Europe*. The first is the *Aristocracy* of *Venice*; which, founded upon the wisest Maxims, and digested by a great Length of Time, hath, in our Age, admitted so many Abuses, through the Degeneracy of the Nobles, that the Period of its Duration seemeth to approach. The other is the united Republicks of the *States General*; where a Vein of Temperance, Industry, Parsimony, and a public Spirit, running through the whole Body of the People, hath preserved an infant Commonwealth, of an untimely Birth, and sickly Constitution, for above an Hundred Years, through so many Dangers and Difficulties, as a much more healthy one could never have struggled against, without those Advantages.

Where Security of Person and Property is preserved by Law, which none but the
Whole

Whole can repeal, there the great Ends of Government are provided for, whether the Administration be in the Hands of *One* or of *Many*. Where any one *Person*, or *Body* of Men, who do not represent the *Whole*, seize into their Hands the Power in the last Resort, there is properly no longer a Government, but what *Aristotle*, and his Followers, call the *Abuse* and *Corruptions* of one. This Distinction excludeth arbitrary Power in whatever Numbers; which, notwithstanding all that *Hobbes*, *Filmer*, and others have said to its Advantage, I look upon as a greater Evil than *Anarchy* itself; as much as a *Savage* is in a happier State of Life than a *Slave* at the Oar.

It is reckoned ill Manners, as well as unreasonable, for Men to quarrel upon Difference in Opinion; because that it is usually supposed to be a Thing which no Man can help in himself: But this I do not conceive to be an universal infallible Maxim, except in those Cases where the Question is pretty equally disputed among the Learned and the Wise: Where it is otherwise, a Man of tolerable Reason, some Experience, and willing to be instructed, may apprehend he is got into a wrong Opinion, although the whole Course of his Mind, and Inclination, would persuade him to believe it true: He may be convinced that he is in an Error, although

though he doth not see where it lieth, by the bad Effects of it in the common Conduct of his Life; and by observing those Persons, for whose Wisdom and Goodness he has the greatest Deference, to be of a contrary Sentiment. According to *Hobbes's* Comparison of *Reasoning* with *casting up Accounts*; whoever findeth a Mistake in the *Sum total* must allow himself out; although, after repeated Trials, he may not see in which Article he hath misreckoned. I will instance, in one Opinion, which I look upon every Man obliged in Conscience to quit, or in Prudence to conceal; I mean, that whoever argueth in Defence of absolute Power, in a single Person, although he offers the old plausible Plea, that *it is his Opinion, which he cannot help, unless he be convinced*, ought, in all free States, to be treated as the common Enemy of Mankind. Yet this is laid as a heavy Charge upon the *Clergy* of the two Reigns before the *Revolution*; who, under the Terms of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, are said to have preached up the unlimited Power of the Prince, because they found it a Doctrine that pleased the Court, and made Way for their Preferment. And, I believe, there may be Truth enough in this Accusation to convince us, that human Frailty will too often interpose itself among Persons of the holiest Function.

However,

However, it may be offered in Excuse for the Clergy, that in the best Societies there are some ill Members, which a corrupted Court and Ministry will industriously find out, and introduce. Besides, it is manifest that the greater Number of those, who held and preached this Doctrine, were misguided by equivocal Terms, and by perfect Ignorance in the Principles of Government, which they had not made any Part of their Study. The Question originally put, and as I remember to have heard it disputed in publick Schools, was this; *Whether, under any Pretence whatsoever, it may be lawful to resist the supreme Magistrate*, which was held in the Negative; and this is certainly the right Opinion. But many of the Clergy and other learned Men, deceived by a dubious Expression, mistook the *Object* to which *Passive Obedience* was due. By the *Supreme Magistrate* is properly understood, the Legislative Power, which in all Government must be absolute and unlimited. But, the Word *Magistrate*, seeming to denote a *single Person*, and to express the *Executive Power*; it came to pass, that the Obedience due to the *Legislature* was, for want of knowing or considering this easy Distinction, misapplied to the *Administration*. Neither is it any Wonder, that the Clergy, or other well-meaning People, should often fall into this Error,

Error, which deceived *Hobbes* himself so far, as to be the Foundation of all the political Mistakes in his Book; where he perpetually confounds the *Executive* with the *Legislative* Power; though all well-instituted States have ever placed them in different Hands; as may be obvious to those who know any Thing of *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Thebes*, and other Republicks of *Greece*; as well as the greater ones of *Carthage* and *Rome*.

Besides, it is to be considered, that, when these Doctrines began to be preached among us, the Kingdom had not quite worn out the Memory of that horrid *Rebellion*, under the Consequences of which it had groaned almost twenty Years. And a *weak Prince*, in Conjunction with a Succession of most prostitute Ministers, began again to dispose the People to new Attempts; which it was, no doubt, the Clergy's Duty to endeavour to prevent; if some of them had not for want of Knowledge in Temporal Affairs, and others, perhaps, from a worse Principle, proceeded upon a Topick, that, strictly followed, would enslave all Mankind.

Among other Theological Arguments made Use of in those Times in Praise of Monarchy, and Justification of absolute Obedience to a Prince, there seemed to be one of a singular Nature: It was urged; that *Heaven* was governed by a *Monarch*, who had

had none to controul his Power, but was absolutely obeyed: Then it followed, that earthly Governments were the more perfect, the nearer they imitated the Government in Heaven. All which I look upon as the strongest Argument against *despotick* Power that ever was offered; since no Reason can possibly be assigned, why it is best for the World that God Almighty hath such a Power, which doth not directly prove that no Mortal Man should ever have the like.

But although a *Church-of-England-Man* thinketh every Species of Government equally *lawful*, he doth not think them equally *expedient*; or for every Country indifferently. There may be something in the Climate naturally disposing Men towards one Sort of Obedience; as it is manifest all over *Asia*, where we never read of any Commonwealth, except some small ones on the *Western* Coasts, established by the *Greeks*. There may be a great deal in the Situation of a Country, and in the present *Genius* of the People. It hath been observed, that the temperate Climates usually run into moderate Governments, and the Extrems into despotick Power. It is a Remark of *Hobbes*, that the Youth of *England* are corrupted in their Principles of Government by reading the Authors of *Greece* and *Rome*, who writ under Commonwealths. But it might have been more fairly offered
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for the Honour of Liberty, that, while the rest of the known World was over-run with the arbitrary Government of single Persons, *Arts* and *Sciences* took their Rise, and flourished only in those few small Territories where the People were *free*. And, although *Learning* may continue after *Liberty* is lost, as it did in *Rome*, for a while upon the Foundation laid under the Commonwealth, and the particular Patronage of some Emperors; yet it hardly ever began under a *Tyranny* in any Nation; because *Slavery* is of all Things the greatest Clog and Obstacle to *Speculation*. And, indeed, arbitrary Power is but the first natural Step from *Anarchy* or the *Savage Life*; the adjusting *Power* and *Freedom* being an Effect and Consequence of maturer Thinking: And this is no where so duly regulated as in a limited Monarchy; because I believe it may pass for a Maxim in State, that *the Administration cannot be placed in too few Hands*; nor the *Legislature in too many*. Now, in this material Point, the Constitution of the *English* Government far exceedeth all others at this Time on the Earth; to which the present Establishment of the *Church* doth so happily agree, that I think, whoever is an Enemy to *either*, must of Necessity be so to *both*.

He thinketh, as our Monarchy is constituted, an hereditary Right is much to be

preferred before *Election*. Because the Government here, especially by some late Amendments, is so regularly disposed in all its Parts; that it almost executeth itself. And therefore, upon the Death of a Prince among us, the Administration goeth on without any Rub, or Interruption. For the same Reasons, we have less to apprehend from the *Weakness* or *Fury* of our Monarchs, who have such wise Councils to guide the first, and Laws to restrain the other. And therefore this hereditary Right should be kept so sacred, as never to break the Succession, unless where the preserving of it may endanger the Constitution; which is not from any intrinsic Merit, or unalienable Right in a *particular Family*; but to avoid the Consequences that usually attend the Ambition of Competitors, to which elective Kingdoms are exposed; and which is the only Obstacle to hinder them from arriving at the greatest Perfection that Government can possibly reach. Hence appears the Absurdity of that Distinction between a King *de facto*, and one *de jure*, with respect to us: For every *limited* Monarch is a King *de jure*, because he governeth by the Consent of the *Whole*; which is Authority sufficient to abolish all precedent Right. If a King come in by *Conquest*, he is no longer a *limited* Monarch: If he afterwards consent to Limitations,

tions, he becometh immediately King *de jure*, for the same Reason.

The great Advocates for *Succession*, who affirm it ought not to be violated upon any Regard, or Consideration whatever, do insist much upon one Argument, that seemeth to carry little Weight. They would have it that a *Crown* is a Prince's Birth-right; and ought, at least, to be as well secured to him, and his Posterity, as the Inheritance of any private Man: In short, that he hath the same Title to his Kingdom which every Individual hath to his Property. Now the Consequence of this Doctrine must be, that as a Man may find several Ways to waste, mispend, or abuse his Patrimony, without being answerable to the Laws; so a King may in like Manner do what he will with his *own*; that is, he may squander and misapply his Revenues, and even alienate the Crown, without being called to an Account by his Subjects. They allow such a Prince to be guilty, indeed, of much Folly and Wickedness; but for these he is *answerable to God*, as every private Man must be, who is guilty of Mismanagement in his own Concerns. Now the Folly of this Reasoning will best appear by applying it in a parallel Case: Should any Man argue, that a Physician is supposed to understand his own Art best; that the Law protecteth and encourageth

his Profession; and therefore, although he should manifestly prescribe *Poison* to all his Patients, whereof they must immediately die, he cannot be justly punished, but is answerable only to God. Or should the same be offered in Behalf of a Divine, who would preach against Religion, and moral Duties: In either of these two Cases, every Body would find out the Sophistry; and presently answer, that, although common Men are not exactly skilled in the Composition, or Application of Medicines, or in prescribing the Limits of Duty; yet the Difference between *Poisons* and *Remedies* is easily known by their Effects, and common Reason soon distinguisheth between *Virtue* and *Vice*: And it must be necessary to forbid both these the further Practice of their Professions; because their Crimes are not purely personal to the Physician, or the Divine, but destructive to the Publick. All which is infinitely stronger in respect to a Prince; in whose good, or ill Conduct, the Happiness, or Misery of a whole Nation is included; whereas, it is of small Consequence to the Publick, farther than Example, how any private Person manageth his Property.

But, granting that the Right of a lineal Successor to a Crown were upon the same Foot with the Property of a Subject; still it may, at any Time, be transferred by the
Legislative

Legislative Power, as other Properties frequently are. The supreme Power in a State can *do no Wrong*, because whatever that doth is the Action of all : And when the Lawyers apply this Maxim to the *King*, they must understand it only in that Sense, as he is Administrator of the supreme Power ; otherwise, it is not universally true, but may be controuled in several Instances easy to produce.

And these are the Topicks we must proceed upon to justify our Exclusion of the young *Pretender* in *France* : That of his suspected Birth being meerly popular, and therefore not made Use of, as I remember, since the Revolution, in any Speech, Vote, or Proclamation, where there was Occasion to mention him.

As to the *Abdication* of King *James*, which the Advocates on that Side look upon to have been forcible and unjust, and consequently void in itself ; I think a Man may observe every Article of the *English* Church, without being in much Pain about it. It is not unlikely that all Doors were laid open for his Departure, and perhaps not without the Privity of the Prince of *Orange* ; as reasonably concluding, that the Kingdom might be better settled in his Absence : But to affirm, he had any Cause to apprehend the same Treatment with his *Father*, is an im-

probable Scandal flung upon the Nation by a few bigoted *French* Scriblers, or the invidious Assertion of a ruined Party at home, in the Bitterness of their Souls. Not one material Circumstance agreeing with those in 1688; and the greatest Part of the Nation having preserved the utmost Horror for that ignominious Murder. But whether his Removal was caused by his own *Fears*, or other Mens *Artifices*, it is manifest to me, that supposing the Throne to be vacant, which was the Foot the Nation went upon, the Body of the People were thereupon left at Liberty to chuse what Form of Government they pleased, by themselves, or their Representatives.

The only Difficulty of any Weight against the Proceedings at the Revolution is an obvious Objection, to which the Writers upon that Subject have not yet given a direct, or sufficient Answer; as if they were in Pain at some Consequences, which they apprehended those of the contrary Opinion might draw from it. I will repeat this Objection as it was offered me some Time ago, with all its Advantages, by a very pious, learned, and worthy * Gentleman of the Nonjuring Party.

The

* *Robert Nelson, Esq;* Author of the *Fasts and Fasts*, the whole Duty of a Christian, and other Books of Devotion.

The Force of his Argument turned upon this; that the Laws made by the supreme Power cannot otherwise than by the supreme Power be annulled: That, this consisting in *England* of a King, Lords, and Commons, whereof each have a negative Voice, no Two of them can repeal or enact a Law without Consent of the Third; much less, may any one of them be entirely excluded from its Part of the Legislature by a *Vote* of the other Two. That all these Maxims were openly violated at the Revolution; where an Assembly of the *Nobles* and *People*, not summoned by the King's Writ, (which was an essential Part of the Constitution) and consequently no lawful Meeting, did, meerly upon their own Authority, declare the King to have abdicated, the Throne vacant; and gave the Crown, by a *Vote*, to a *Nephew*, when there were three Children to inherit; although, by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, the next Heir is immediately to succeed. Neither doth it appear, how a Prince's *Abdication* can make any other Sort of Vacancy in the Throne, than would be caused by his Death; since he cannot abdicate for his Children, (who claim their Right of Succession by Act of Parliament) otherwise than by his own Consent, in Form, to a Bill from the two Houses:

And this is the Difficulty that seemeth chiefly to stick with the most reasonable of those, who, from a meer Scruple of Conscience, refuse to join with us upon the Revolution Principle; but, for the rest, are, I believe, as far from loving arbitrary Government, as any others can be, who are born under a free Constitution, and are allowed to have the least Share of common good Sense.

In this Objection there are two Questions included: First, Whether upon the Foot of our Constitution, as it stood in the Reign of the late King *James*, a King of *England* may be deposed? The second is, Whether the People of *England*, convened by their own Authority, after the King had withdrawn himself in the Manner he did, had Power to alter the Succession?

As for the first; it is a Point I shall not presume to determine; and shall therefore only say, that to any Man who holds the Negative I would demand the Liberty of putting the Case as strongly as I please. I will suppose a Prince limited by Laws like ours, yet running into a thousand Caprices of Cruelty, like *Nero* or *Caligula*. I will suppose him to murder his Mother and his Wife, to commit Incest, to ravish Matrons, to blow up the Senate, and burn his Metropolis; openly to renounce God and Christ,
and

and worship the Devil: These, and the like Exorbitances, are in the Power of a single Person to commit without the Advice of a Ministry, or Assistance of an Army. And if such a King, as I have described, cannot be deposed but by his own Consent in Parliament, I do not well see how he can be *resisted*; or what can be meant by a *limited* Monarchy, or what signifies the People's Consent in making and repealing Laws, if the Person who administers hath no Tie of Conscience, and is answerable to none but God. I desire no stronger Proof that an Opinion must be false, than to find very great Absurdities annexed to it; and there cannot be greater than in the present Case: For it is not a bare Speculation, that Kings may run into such Enormities as are above mentioned; the Practice may be proved by Examples, not only drawn from the first *Cæsars*, or later Emperors, but many modern Princes of *Europe*; such as *Peter* the Cruel, *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, *John Basilovits* of *Muscovy*; and, in our Nation, King *John*, *Richard* the Third, and *Henry* the Eighth. But there cannot be equal Absurdities supposed in maintaining the contrary Opinion; because it is certain, that Princes have it in their Power to keep a Majority on their Side by any tolerable Administration; until provoked by continual Oppressions,

pressions, no Man indeed can then answer where the Madness of the People will stop.

As to the second Part of the Objection, whether the People of *England*, convened by their own Authority, upon King *James's* precipitate Departure, had Power to alter the Succession?

In Answer to this, I think it is manifest from the Practice of the wisest Nations, and who seem to have had the truest Notions of Freedom, that when a Prince was laid aside for Male Administration, the *Nobles*, and *People*, if they thought it necessary for the Publick Weal, did resume the Administration of the supreme Power, (the Power itself having been always in them) and did not only alter the Succession, but often the very Form of Government too; because they believed there was no natural Right in one Man to govern another; but all this was by Institution, Force, or Consent. Thus the Cities of *Greece*, when they drove out their tyrannical Kings, either chose others from a new Family, or abolished the Kingly Government, and became Free States. Thus the *Romans*, upon the Expulsion of *Tarquin*, found it inconvenient for them to be subject any longer to the Pride, the Lust, the Cruelty, and arbitrary Will of single Persons; and therefore, by general Consent, entirely altered the whole Frame of their Government.

ment. Nor do I find the Proceedings of either in this Point to have been condemned by any Historian of the succeeding Ages.

But a great deal hath been already said by other Writers, upon this invidious and beaten Subject; therefore I shall let it fall; although the Point be commonly mistaken, especially by the *Lawyers*; who, of all other Professions, seem least to understand the Nature of Government in general; like under Workmen, who are expert enough at making a single Wheel in a Clock, but are utterly ignorant how to adjust the several Parts, or to regulate the Movement.

To return therefore from this Digression: It is a *Church-of-England-Man's* Opinion, that the Freedom of a Nation consisteth in an absolute *unlimited legislative* Power, wherein the whole Body of the People are *fairly* represented; and, in an *Executive* duly *limited*; Because on this Side likewise there may be dangerous Degrees, and a very ill Extream. For, when two Parties in a State are pretty equal in *Power, Pretensions, Merit, and Virtue*, (for these two last are, with relation to Parties and a Court, quite different Things) it hath been the Opinion of the best Writers upon Government, that a Prince ought not in any Sort to be under the Guidance or Influence of either; because he declineth, by this Means, from his Office of
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presiding over the *Whole* to be the Head of a *Party*; which, besides the Indignity, rendereth him answerable for all publick Mismanagements, and the Consequences of them: And in whatever State this happens, there must either be a Weakness in the Prince or Ministry, or else the former is too much restrained by the Nobles, or those who represent the People.

To conclude; a *Church-of-England-Man* may with Prudence, and a good Conscience, approve the professed Principles of one Party more than the other, according as he thinks they best promote the Good of Church and State; but he will never be swayed by Passion or Interest to advance an Opinion, merely, because it is *That* of the Party he most approveth; which one single Principle he looketh upon as the Root of all our civil Animosities. To enter into a *Party* as into an Order of *Fryars*, with so designed an Obedience to Superiors, is very unsuitable both with the civil and religious Liberties we so zealously assert. Thus the Understandings of a whole Senate are often enslaved by three or four Leaders on each Side; who, instead of intending the publick Weal, have their Hearts wholly set upon *Ways and Means* how to get or to keep Employments. But to speak more at large; how hath this Spirit of Faction mingled itself with the Mass of
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the People, changed their Nature and Manners, and the very Genius of the Nation? Broke all the Laws of Charity, Neighbourhood, Alliance, and Hospitality? Destroyed all Ties of Friendship, and divided Families against themselves? And no wonder it should be so, when in order to find out the Character of a Person, instead of enquiring whether he be a Man of Virtue, Honour, Piety, Wit, good Sense, or Learning; the modern Question is only, whether he be a *Whig* or a *Tory*; under which Terms all good and ill Qualities are included.

Now, because it is a Point of Difficulty to chuse an exact Middle between two ill Extrems; it may be worth enquiring, in the present Case, which of these a wise and good Man would rather seem to avoid: Taking therefore their own good and ill Characters with due Abatements and Allowances for Partiality and Passion, I should think, that, in order to preserve the Constitution entire in the Church and State; whoever hath a true Value for both would be sure to avoid the Extrems of *Whig* for the Sake of the former, and the Extrems of *Tory* on Account of the latter.

I have now said all that I could think convenient upon so nice a Subject; and find, I have the Ambition common with other Reasoners, to wish, at least, that both Parties

ties may think me *in the Right*, which would be of some Use to those who have any Virtue left, but are blindly drawn into the Extravagancies of either, upon false Representations, to serve the Ambition or Malice of designing Men, without any Prospect of their own. But if that may not be hoped for, my next Wish should be, that both might think me *in the Wrong*; which I would understand as an ample Justification of myself, and a sure Ground to believe, that I have proceeded at least with Impartiality, and perhaps with Truth.

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ARGUMENT

To prove, That the
Abolishing of CHRISTIANITY

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ENGLAND,

May, as Things now stand, be attended with some Inconveniencies, and, perhaps, not produce those many good Effects proposed thereby.

Written in the Year 1708.

I AM very sensible what a Weakness and Presumption it is, to reason against the general Humour and Disposition of the World. I remember it was with great Justice, and a due Regard to the Freedom both
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of the Publick and the Press, forbidden upon severe Penalties to Write or Discourse, or lay Wagers against the *Union*, even before it was confirmed by Parliament: Because that was looked upon as a Design to oppose the Current of the People; which, besides the Folly of it, is a manifest Breach of the fundamental Law, that makes this Majority of Opinion the Voice of God. In like Manner, and for the very same Reasons, it may perhaps be neither safe nor prudent to argue against the abolishing of Christianity, at a Juncture when all Parties appear so unanimously determined upon the Point; as we cannot but allow from their Actions, their Discourses and their Writings. However, I know not how, whether from the Affectation of Singularity, or the Perverseness of human Nature; but so it unhappily falleth out, that I cannot be entirely of this Opinion. Nay, although I were sure an Order were issued out for my immediate Prosecution by the Attorney-General, I should still confess, that in the present Posture of our Affairs at Home or Abroad, I do not yet see the absolute Necessity of extirpating the Christian Religion from among us.

This perhaps may appear too great a Paradox, even for our wise and paradoxical Age to endure: Therefore I shall handle it with all Tenderness and with the utmost Deference

Deference to that great and profound Majority which is of another Sentiment.

And yet the Curious may please to observe, how much the Genius of a Nation is liable to alter in Half an Age: I have heard it affirmed for certain, by some very old People, that the contrary Opinion was even in their Memories as much in Vogue as the other is now; and that a Project for abolishing Christianity would then have appeared as singular, and been thought as absurd, as it would be at this Time to write or discourse in its Defence.

Therefore I freely own, that all Appearances are against me. The System of the Gospel, after the Fate of other Systems, is generally antiquated and exploded; and the Mass or Body of the common People, among whom it seemeth to have had its latest Credit, are now grown as much ashamed of it as their Betters: Opinions, like Fashions, always descending from those of Quality to the middle Sort, and thence to the Vulgar, where at length they are dropt and vanish.

But here I would not be mistaken; and must therefore be so bold as to borrow a Distinction from the Writers on the other Side, when they make a Difference between nominal and real *Trinitarians*. I hope no Reader imagineth me so weak to stand up in the Defence of *real* Christianity; such as

used in primitive Times (if we may believe the Authors of those Ages) to have an Influence upon Mens Belief and Actions. To offer at the Restoring of that would indeed be a wild Project; it would be to dig up Foundations; to destroy at one Blow *all* the Wit, and *half* the Learning of the Kingdom; to break the entire Frame and Constitution of Things; to ruin Trade, extinguish Arts and Sciences, with the Professors of them; in short, to turn our Courts, Exchanges, and Shops into Desarts: And would be full as absurd as the Proposal of *Horace*, where he advises the *Romans*, all in a Body, to leave their City, and seek a new Seat in some remote Part of the World, by Way of Cure for the Corruption of their Manners.

Therefore, I think, this Caution was in itself altogether unnecessary, (which I have inserted only to prevent all Possibility of cavilling) since every candid Reader will easily understand my Discourse to be intended only in Defence of *nominal* Christianity; the other having been for some Time wholly laid aside by general Consent, as utterly inconsistent with our present Scheme of Wealth and Power.

But why we should therefore cast off the Name and Title of Christians, although the general Opinion and Resolution be so violent
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for it, I confess I cannot (with Submission) apprehend the Consequence necessary. However, since the Undertakers propose such wonderful Advantages to the Nation by this Project; and advance many plausible Objections against the system of Christianity; I shall briefly consider the Strength of both; fairly allow them their greatest Weight, and offer such Answers as I think most reasonable. After which I will beg leave to shew what Inconveniencies may possibly happen by such an Innovation, in the present Posture of our Affairs.

First, One great Advantage proposed by the Abolishing of Christianity is, That it would very much enlarge and establish Liberty of Conscience, that great Bulwark of our Nation, and of the *Protestant* Religion, which is still too much limited by *Priestcraft*, notwithstanding all the good Intentions of the Legislature; as we have lately found by a severe Instance. For it is confidently reported, that two young Gentlemen of great Hopes, bright Wit, and profound Judgment, who, upon a thorough Examination of Causes and Effects, and by the meer Force of natural Abilities, without the least Tincture of Learning; having made a Discovery, that there was no God, and generously communicated their Thoughts for the Good of the Publick, were some Time ago, by an

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unparalleled

unparalleled Severity, and upon I know not what *obsolete* Law, broke *only* for *Blasphemy*. And, as it hath been wisely observed, if Persecution once begins, no Man alive knoweth how far it may reach, or where it will end.

In Answer to all which, with Deference to wiser Judgments, I think this rather shews the Necessity of a *nominal* Religion among us. Great Wits love to be free with the highest Objects; and, if they cannot be allowed a God to revile or renounce, they will *speak Evil of Dignities*, abuse the Government, and reflect upon the Ministry; which, I am sure, few will deny to be of much more pernicious Consequence; according to the Saying of *Tiberius*, *Deorum offensa Diis curæ*. As to the particular Fact related; I think it is not fair to argue from one Instance; perhaps another cannot be produced, yet (to the Comfort of all those, who may be apprehensive of Persecution) Blasphemy, we know, is freely spoke a Million of Times in every Coffee-House and Tavern, or where ever else *good Company* meet. It must be allowed, indeed, that to break an *English Free-born* Officer only for Blasphemy was, to speak the gentlest of such an Action, a very high Strain of absolute Power. Little can be said in Excuse for the General; perhaps he was afraid it might give Offence to

to the Allies, among whom, for ought I know, it may be the Custom of the Country to believe a God. But if he argued, as some have done, upon a mistaken Principle, that an Officer, who is guilty of speaking Blasphemy, may, some Time or other, proceed so far as to raise a Mutiny, the Consequence is, by no Means, to be admitted: For, surely, the Commander of an *English* Army is likely to be but ill obeyed, whose Soldiers fear and reverence him as little as they do a Deity.

It is further objected against the Gospel System, that it obligeth Men to the Belief of Things too difficult for Free-Thinkers, and such who have shaken off the Prejudices that usually cling to a confined Education. To which I answer, that Men should be cautious how they raise Objections, which reflect upon the Wisdom of the Nation. Is not every Body freely allowed to believe whatever he pleaseth; and to publish his Belief to the World whenever he thinketh fit; especially if it serve to strengthen the Party which is in the Right? Would any indifferent Foreigner, who should read the Trumpery lately written by * *Asgill, Tindal,*
K 3 *Toland,*

* *John Asgill*, Esq; was a Member of the Parliament in *Ireland*, from whence he was expelled in the Year 1703, for writing and publishing a Book, entitled,
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Toland, Coward, and Forty more, imaginè the Gospel to be our Rule of Faith, and confirmed by Parliaments? Doth any Man either believe, or say he believeth, or desireth to have it thought that he says he believeth, one Syllable of the Matter? And is any Man worse received upon that Score; or doth he find his want of *Nominal* Faith a Disadvantage to him, in the Pursuit of any Civil or Military Employment? What if there be an old dormant Statue or two against him? Are they not now obsolete to a Degree, that *Empson* and *Dudley* themselves, if they were now alive, would find it impossible to put them in Execution?

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“ An Argument, proving, that according to the Covenant of eternal Life, revealed in the Scriptures, Man may be translated from hence into eternal Life, without passing through Death; although the human Nature of Christ himself could not be thus translated, till he passed through Death.”
 After which it was Resolved, That he be expelled the House of Commons, and for ever after incapable of being chosen, returned, or of ever sitting in the House of Commons of *Ireland*.---In the Year 1707, Mr. *Asgill*, being then a Member of the *English* Parliament, he was examined by the House of Commons, and owning himself to be the Author of the above Work, he was expelled that House, and the Book was burned in the *New Palace Yard, Westminster*, by the common Hangman.

Matthew Tindal, was a Clergyman's Son in *Devonshire*, was bred at *Oxford*, where he took his Doctor's Degree

It is likewise urged, that there are, by Computation, in this Kingdom, above ten thousand Parsons; whose Revenues, added to those of my Lords the Bishops, would suffice to maintain, at least, two hundred young Gentlemen of Wit, and Pleasure, and Free-thinking; Enemies to Priestcraft, narrow Principles, Pedantry, and Prejudices; who might be an Ornament to the Court and Town; and then again, so great a Number of able (bodied) Divines might be a Recruit to our Fleet and Armies. This, indeed, appeareth to be a Consideration of

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Degree in the Civil Law. In the Reign of King *James II.* he turned *Roman-Catholick*. He wrote some Books, particularly one, entitled, "Christianity as old as the Creation, or the Gospel Republication of the Religion of Nature," which was answered by several Divines, to wit, *Dr. John Conybeare*, *Mr. James Foster*, and *Dr. John Leland*. See his Character and the next following in *Pope's Dunciad*.

John Toland, was born in the North of *Ireland*, of *Popish* Parents, put to *Redcastle* School in the County of *Derry*, where he turned *Presbyterian*, and from thence he went to the University of *Glasgow*, and afterwards to the University of *Edinburgh*, where he took the Degree of a Master of Arts, being supported by some Dissenters. He wrote other Books, among which were, "A Dissertation to prove the received History of the tragical Death of *Atilius Regulus*, the *Roman* Consul, to be a Fable." Also, "Christianity not mysterious."

Coward, was a most prophane Writer of very stupid, illiterate Pamphlets.

some Weight: But then, on the other Side, several Things deserve to be considered likewise: As, First, whether it may not be thought necessary, that in certain Tracts of Country, like what we call Parishes, there should be *one* Man, at least, of Abilities to read and write. Then it seemeth a wrong Computation, that the Revenues of the Church throughout this Island, would be large enough to maintain two hundred young Gentlemen, or even Half that Number, after the present refined Way of Living; that is, to allow each of them such a Rent, as, in the modern Form of Speech, would make them *easy*. But still there is in this Project a greater Mischief behind; and we ought to beware of the Woman's Folly, who killed the Hen, that every Morning laid her a Golden Egg. For, pray, what would become of the Race of Men in the next Age, if we had nothing to trust to, besides the scrophulous, consumptive Productions furnished by our Men of Wit and Pleasure; when, having squandered away their Vigour, Health, and Estates, they are forced, by some disagreeable Marriage, to piece up their broken Fortunes, and entail Rottenness and Politeness on their Posterity? Now, here are ten thousand Parsons reduced, by the wise Regulations of *Henry* the Eighth, to the Necessity of a low Diet, and moderate Exercise,

ercise, who are the only great Restorers of our Breed; without which the Nation would, in an Age or two, become but one great Hospital.

Another Advantage propos'd by the abolishing of Christianity is, the clear Gain of one Day in seven, which is now entirely lost, and consequently the Kingdom one Seventh less considerable in Trade, Business, and Pleasure; besides the Loss to the Publick of so many stately Structures now in the Hands of the Clergy; which might be converted into Theatres, Exchanges, Market-houses, common Dormitories, and other publick Edifices.

I hope I shall be forgiven a hard Word, if I call this a perfect Cavil. I readily own there hath been an old Custom, Time out of Mind, for People to assemble in the Churches every *Sunday*, and that Shops are still frequently shut, in order, as it is conceived, to preserve the Memory of that antient Practice; but how this can prove a Hindrance to Business, or Pleasure, is hard to imagine. What, if the Men of Pleasure are forced, one Day in the Week, to Game at home, instead of the *Chocolate-house*? Are not the *Taverns* and *Coffee-houses* open? Can there be a more convenient Season for taking a Dose of Physick? Are fewer Claps got upon *Sundays* than other Days? Is not that
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the chief Day for Traders to sum up the Accounts of the Week; and for Lawyers to prepare their Briefs? But I would fain know how it can be pretended, that the Churches are misapplied. Where are more Appointments and Rendezvouzes of Gallantry? Where more Care to appear in the foremost Box with greater Advantage of Dress? Where more Meetings for Business? Where more Bargains driven of all Sorts? And where so many Conveniencies or Incitements to Sleep?

There is one Advantage, greater than any of the foregoing, proposed by the abolishing of Christianity; that it will utterly extinguish Parties among us, by removing those factious Distinctions of *High* and *Low Church*, of *Whig* and *Tory*, *Presbyterian* and *Church-of-England*; which are now so many grievous Clogs upon publick Proceedings, and dispose Men to prefer the gratifying themselves, or depressing their Adversaries, before the most important Interest of the State.

I confess, if it were certain that so great an Advantage would redound to the Nation by this Expedient, I would submit and be silent: But will any Man say, that if the Words *Whoring*, *Drinking*, *Cheating*, *Lying*, *Stealing*, were, by Act of Parliament, ejected out of the *English* Tongue and Dicti-

Dictionaries, we should all awake next Morning chaste and temperate, honest and just, and Lovers of Truth. Is this a fair Consequence? Or, if the Physicians would forbid us to pronounce the Words, *Pox*, *Gout*, *Rheumatism*, and *Stone*, would that Expedient serve, like so many *Talismans*, to destroy the Diseases themselves? Are Party and Faction rooted in Mens Hearts no deeper than Phrases borrowed from Religion or founded upon no firmer Principles? And is our Language so poor, that we cannot find other Terms to express them? Are Envy, Pride, Avarice, and Ambition, such ill Nomenclators, that they cannot furnish Appellations for their Owners? Will not *Heydukes*, and *Mamalukes*, *Mandarines* and *Potshaws*, or any other Words formed at Pleasure, serve to distinguish those who are in the *Ministry* from others, who *would be in it if they could*? What, for Instance, is easier than to vary the Form of Speech; and, instead of the Word *Church*, make it a Question in Politics, Whether the *Monument* be in Danger? Because Religion was nearest at Hand to furnish a few convenient Phrases, is our Invention so barren, we can find no other? Suppose, for Argument Sake, that the *Tories* favoured * *Margarita*, the *Whigs* Mrs. *Tofts*, and the *Trimmers* *Valentini*; would not *Margaritans*, *Toftians*, and *Valentinians*,
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* *Italian* Singers then in Vogue.

be very tolerable Marks of Distinction? The *Prasini* and *Veneti*, two most virulent Factions in *Italy*, began (if I remember right) by a Distinction of Colours in Ribbands; which we might do, with as good a Grace, about the Dignity of the *Blue* and *Green*; and would serve as properly to divide the Court, the Parliament, and the Kingdom between them, as any Terms of Art whatsoever, borrowed from Religion. Therefore, I think there is little Force in this Objection against Christianity; or Prospect of so great an Advantage as is proposed in the abolishing of it.

It is again objected, as a very absurd, ridiculous Custom, that a Set of Men should be suffered, much less employed, and hired to bawl one Day in seven, against the Lawfulness of those Methods most in Use towards the Pursuit of Greatness, Riches, and Pleasure; which are the constant Practice of all Men alive on the other Six. But this Objection is, I think, a little unworthy so refined an Age as ours. Let us argue this Matter calmly. I appeal to the Breast of any polite Free-thinker, whether, in the Pursuit of gratifying a predominant Passion, he hath not always felt a wonderful Incitement, by reflecting it was a Thing forbidden: And therefore we see, in order to cultivate this Taste, the Wisdom of the Nation hath
taken

taken special Care, that the Ladies should be furnished with prohibited Silk, and the Men with prohibited Wine: And, indeed, it were to be wished, that some other Prohibitions were promoted, in order to improve the Pleasures of the Town; which, for want of such Expedients, begin already, as I am told, to flag and grow languid, giving Way daily to cruel Inroads from the Spleen.

It is likewise proposed, as a great Advantage to the Publick, that if we once discard the System of the Gospel, all Religions will, of Course, be banished for ever; and consequently along with it those grievous Prejudices of Education, which, under the Names of Virtue, Conscience, Honour, Justice, and the like, are so apt to disturb the Peace of human Minds; and the Notions whereof are so hard to be eradicated by right Reason, or Free-thinking, sometimes during the whole Course of our Lives.

Here, first, I observe how difficult it is to get rid of a Phrase, which the World is once grown fond of, although the Occasion that first produced it be entirely taken away. For several Years past, if a Man had but an ill-favoured Nose, the Deep-Thinkers of the Age would, some Way or other, contrive to impute the Cause to the Prejudice of his Education. From this Fountain are said to be derived all our foolish Notions of Justice, Piety,

Piety, Love of our Country; all our Opinions of God, or a future State; Heaven, Hell, and the like: And there might formerly, perhaps, have been some Pretence for this Charge. But so effectual Care hath been since taken to remove those Prejudices by an entire Change in the Methods of Education, that (with Honour I mention it to our polite Innovators) the young Gentlemen, who are now on the Scene, seem to have not the least Tincture left of those Infusions, or String of those Weeds; and by Consequence the Reason for abolishing *Nominal* Christianity upon that Pretext is wholly ceased.

For the rest, it may perhaps admit a Controversy, whether the banishing all Notions of Religion whatever would be convenient for the Vulgar. Not that I am in the least of Opinion with those, who hold Religion to have been the Invention of Politicians, to keep the lower Part of the World in Awe, by the Fear of invisible Powers; unless Mankind were then very different from what it is now: For I look upon the Mass or Body of our People here in *England* to be as Free-thinkers, that is to say, as staunch Unbelievers, as any of the highest Rank. But I conceive some scattered Notions about a superior Power to be of singular Use for the common People, as furnishing excellent Materials to keep Children quiet, when they grow

grow peevish; and providing Topicks of Amusement in a tedious Winter Night.

Lastly, It is proposed as a singular Advantage, that the abolishing of Christianity will very much contribute to the uniting of *Protestants*, by enlarging the Terms of Communion, so as to take in all Sorts of *Dissenters*; who are now shut out of the Pale upon Account of a few Ceremonies, which all Sides confess to be Things indifferent: That this alone will effectually answer the great Ends of a Scheme for Comprehension, by opening a large noble Gate, at which all Bodies may enter; whereas the chaffering with *Dissenters*, and dodging about this or the other Ceremony, is but like opening a few Wickets, and leaving them at jar, by which no more than one can get in at a Time, and that not without stooping, and sideling, and squeezing his Body.

To all this I answer, That there is one darling Inclination of Mankind, which usually affecteth to be a Retainer to Religion, although she be neither its Parent, its God-mother, or its Friend: I mean the Spirit of Opposition, that lived long before Christianity, and can easily subsist without it. Let us, for Instance, examine wherein the Opposition of Sectaries among us consisteth; we shall find Christianity to have no Share in it at all. Does the Gospel any where pre-
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scribe a starched, squeezed Countenance, a stiff formal Gait, a Singularity of Manners and Habit, or any affected Modes of Speech, different from the reasonable Part of Mankind? Yet, if Christianity did not lend its Name, to stand in the Gap, and to employ or divert these Humours, they must of Necessity be spent in Contraventions to the Laws of the Land, and Disturbance of the publick Peace. There is a Portion of Enthusiasm assigned to every Nation, which, if it hath not proper Objects to work on, will burst out, and set all in a Flame. If the Quiet of a State can be bought by only flinging Men a few Ceremonies to devour, it is a Purchase no wise Man would refuse. Let the Mastiffs amuse themselves about a Sheep-skin stuffed with Hay, provided it will keep them from worrying the Flock. The Institution of Convents abroad seemeth in one Point a Strain of great Wisdom; there being few Irregularities in human Passions that may not have Recourse to vent themselves in some of those Orders; which are so many Retreats for the Speculative, the Melancholy, the Proud, the Silent, the Politick, and the Morose, to spend themselves, and evaporate the noxious Particles; for each of whom we in this Island are forced to provide a several Sect of Religion to keep them quiet. And whenever Christi-
anity

anity shall be abolished, the Legislature must find some other Expedient to employ and entertain them. For what importeth it, how large a Gate you open, if there will be always left a Number, who place a Pride and a Merit in refusing to enter?

Having thus considered the most important Objections against Christianity, and the chief Advantages proposed by the abolishing thereof; I shall now, with equal Deference and Submission to wiser Judgments as before, proceed to mention a few Inconveniences that may happen, if the Gospel should be repealed; which perhaps the Projectors may not have sufficiently considered.

And first, I am very sensible how much the Gentlemen of Wit and Pleasure are apt to murmur, and be choqued at the Sight of so many daggled-tail Parsons, who happen to fall in their Way, and offend their Eyes: But, at the same Time, these wise Reformers do not consider what an Advantage and Felicity it is, for great Wits to be always provided with Objects of Scorn and Contempt, in order to exercise and improve their Talents, and divert their Spleen from falling on each other, or on themselves; especially, when all this may be done without the least imaginable *Danger to their Persons*.

And to urge another Argument of a parallel Nature: If Christianity were once abo-

lished, how could the Free-Thinkers, the strong Reasoners, and the Men of profound Learning, be able to find another Subject so calculated in all Points whereon to display their Abilities? What wonderful Productions of Wit should we be deprived of, from those whose Genius, by continual Practice, hath been wholly turned upon Raillery and Invectives against Religion; and would therefore never be able to shine or distinguish themselves upon any other Subject. We are daily complaining of the great Decline of Wit among us; and would we take away the greatest, perhaps the only, Topick we have left? Who would ever have suspected *Asgill* for a Wit, or *Toland* for a Philosopher, if the inexhaustible Stock of Christianity had not been at Hand to provide them with Materials? What other Subject through all Art or Nature could have produced *Tindal* for a profound Author, or furnished him with Readers? It is the wise Choice of the Subject, that alone adorneth and distinguisheth the Writer. For had an hundred such Pens as these been employed on the Side of Religion, they would have immediately sunk into Silence and Oblivion.

Nor do I think it wholly groundless, or my Fears altogether imaginary; that the Abolishing of Christianity may, perhaps, bring the Church in Danger: or, at least,
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put the Senate to the Trouble of another Securing Vote. I desire, I may not be mistaken; I am far from presuming to affirm or think, that the Church is in Danger at present, or as Things now stand; but we know not how soon it may be so, when the Christian Religion is repealed. As plausible as this Project seems, there may a dangerous Design lurk under it. Nothing can be more notorious, than that the *Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Anti-Trinitarians*, and other Subdivisions of Free-Thinkers, are Persons of little Zeal for the present Ecclesiastical Establishment. Their declared Opinion is for repealing the Sacramental Test; they are very indifferent with regard to Ceremonies; nor do they hold the *Jus Divinum* of Episcopacy. Therefore this may be intended as one politick Step towards altering the Constitution of the Church established, and setting up *Presbytery* in the Stead; which I leave to be further considered by those at the Helm.

In the last Place, I think nothing be more plain, than that by this Expedient we shall run into the Evil we chiefly pretend to avoid; and that the Abolishment of the Christian Religion will be the readiest Course we can take to introduce Popery. And I am the more inclined to this Opinion, because we know it hath been the constant Practice of

the *Jesuits* to send over Emissaries, with Instructions to personate themselves Members of the several prevailing Sects among us. So it is recorded, that they have at sundry Times appeared in the Guise of *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptists*, *Independents*, and *Quakers*; according as any of these were most in Credit: So, since the Fashion hath been taken up of exploding Religion, the *Popish* Missionaries have not been wanting to mix with the Free-Thinkers; among whom *Toland*, the great Oracle of the *Anti-Christians*, is an *Irish* Priest, the Son of an *Irish* Priest; and the most learned and ingenious Author of a Book, called the *Rights of the Christian Church*, was, in a proper Juncture, reconciled to the *Romish* Faith; whose true Son, as appeareth by an hundred Passages in his Treatise, he still continueth. Perhaps, I could add some others to the Number; but the Fact is beyond Dispute; and the Reasoning they proceeded by is right: For, supposing Christianity to be extinguished, the People will never be at Ease until they find out some other Method of Worship; which will as infallibly produce Superstition, as this will end in *Popery*.

And therefore, if, notwithstanding all I have said, it shall still be thought necessary to have a Bill brought in for repealing Christianity; I would humbly offer an Amendment,

ment, that, instead of the Word *Christianity*, may be put *Religion* in general; which, I conceive, will much better answer all the good Ends proposed by the Projectors of it. For, as long as we leave in Being a God, and his Providence, with all the necessary Consequences; which curious and inquisitive Men will be apt to draw from such Premises, we do not strike at the Root of the Evil, although we should ever so effectually annihilate the present Scheme of the Gospel. For of what Use is Freedom of Thought, if it will not produce Freedom of Action; which is the sole End, how remote soever, in Appearance, of all Objections against Christianity? And therefore the Free-Thinkers consider it as a Sort of Edifice, wherein all the Parts have such a mutual Dependence on each other, that, if you happen to pull out one single Nail, the whole Fabrick must fall to the Ground. This was happily expressed by him, who had heard of a Text brought for Proof of the Trinity, which in an antient Manuscript was differently read; he thereupon immediately took the Hint, and by a sudden Deduction of a long *Sorites* most logically concluded: Why, if it be as you say, I may safely whore and drink on, and defy the Parson. From which, and many the like Instances, easy to be produced, I think nothing can be more manifest,

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fest, than that the Quarrel is not against any particular Points of hard Digestion in the Christian System; but against Religion in general; which, by laying Restraints on human Nature, is supposed the great Enemy to the Freedom of Thought and Action.

Upon the Whole, if it shall still be thought for the Benefit of Church and State, that Christianity be abolished, I conceive, however, it may be more convenient to defer the Execution to a Time of Peace, and not venture in this Conjunction to disoblige our Allies; who as it falleth out, are all Christians; and many of them, by the Prejudices of their Education, so bigotted, as to place a Sort of Pride in the Appellation. If, upon being rejected by them, we are to trust to an Alliance with the *Turk*, we shall find ourselves much deceived: For, as he is too remote, and generally engaged in War with the *Persian* Emperor; so his People would be more scandalized at our Infidelity, than our Christian Neighbours: Because the *Turks* are not only strict Observers of religious Worship; but, what is worse, believe a God; which is more than is required of us, even while we preserve the Name of Christians.

To conclude; whatever some may think of the great Advantages to Trade, by this favourite Scheme, I do very much apprehend,

hend, that in six Months Time, after the Act is passed for the Extirpation of the Gospel, the Bank and *East-India* Stocks may fall, at least, One *per Cent.* And, since that is Fifty Times more than ever the Wisdom of our Age thought fit to venture for the *Preservation* of Christianity, there is no Reason we should be at so great a Loss, meerly for the Sake of *destroying* it.

PREDICTIONS

For the Year MDCCVIII.

Wherein the Month, and Day of the Month, are set down, the Persons named, and the great Actions and Events of next Year particularly related as they will come to pass.

Written to prevent the People of *England* from being farther imposed on by vulgar *Almanack-Makers*.

By ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, *Esq;*

The Author, when he had writ the following Paper, being at a Loss what Name to prefix to it, passing through Long-Acre, observed a Sign over a House where a Locksmith dwelt, and found the Name Bickerstaff written under it: Which being a Name somewhat uncommon, he chose to call himself Isaac Bickerstaff. This Name was some Time afterward made Use of by Sir Richard Steele, and Mr. Addison, in the Tatlers; in which Papers, as well as many of the Spectators, our Author had a considerable Part.

HAVING long considered the gross Abuse of Astrology in this Kingdom;
upon

upon debating the Matter with myself, I could not possibly lay the Fault upon the Art, but upon those gross Impostors, who set up to be the Artists. I know several learned Men have contended, that the Whole is a Cheat; that it is absurd and ridiculous to imagine, the Stars can have any Influence at all upon Human Actions, Thoughts, or Inclinations: And whoever hath not bent his Studies that Way, may be excused for thinking so, when he sees in how wretched a Manner this noble Art is treated by a few mean illiterate Traders between us and the Stars; who import a yearly Stock of Nonsense, Lies, Folly, and Impertinence, which they offer to the World as genuine from the Planets; although they descend from no greater a Height than their own Brains.

I intend, in a short Time, to publish a large and rational Defence of this Art; and, therefore, shall say no more in its Justification at present, than that it hath been in all Ages defended by many learned Men; and, among the rest, by *Socrates* himself; whom I look upon as undoubtedly the wisest of uninspired Mortals: To which if we add, that those who have condemned this Art, although otherwise learned, having been such as either did not apply their Studies this Way, or at least did not succeed in their Applications;

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tions; their Testimony will not be of much Weight to its Disadvantage, since they are liable to the common Objection of condemning what they did not understand.

Nor am I at all offended, or think it an Injury to the Art, when I see the common Dealers in it, the *Students in Astrology*, the *Philomaths*, and the rest of that Tribe, treated by wise Men with the utmost Scorn and Contempt: But I rather wonder, when I observe Gentlemen in the Country, rich enough to serve the Nation in Parliament, poring in *Partridge's Almanack* to find out the Events of the Year at Home and Abroad; not daring to propose a Hunting Match, until *Gadbury* *, or he, hath fixed the Weather.

I will allow either of the Two I have mentioned, or any other of the Fraternity, to be not only Astrologers, but Conjurers too; if I do not produce an Hundred Instances in all their Almanacks, to convince any reasonable Man, that they do not so much as understand Grammar and Syntax; that they are not able to spell any Word out of the usual Road; nor even in their Prefaces to write common Sense, or intelligible *English*. Then, for their Observations and Predictions, they are such as will equally suit any Age

* *A famous Almanack-Maker.*

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Age or Country in the World. *This Month a certain great Person will be threatned with Death or Sicknefs.* This the News-Paper will tell them; for there we find at the End of the Year, that no Month passeth without the Death of some Person of Note; and it would be hard, if it should be otherwise, when there are at least Two Thousand Persons of Note in this Kingdom, many of them old; and the Almanack-Maker has the Liberty of chusing the sickliest Season in the Year, where he may fix his Prediction. Again, *This Month an eminent Clergyman will be preferred;* of which there may be some Hundreds, Half of them with one Foot in the Grave. Then, *Such a Planet in such a House shews great Machinations, Plots, and Conspiracies, that may in Time be brought to Light:* After which, if we hear of any Discovery, the Astrologer gets the Honour; if not, his Prediction still standeth good. And at last, *God preserve King William from all his open and secret Enemies, Amen.* When, if the King should happen to have died, the Astrologer plainly foretold it, otherwise, it passeth but for the pious Ejaculation of a loyal Subject: Although it unluckily happened in some of their Almanacks, that poor King *William* was prayed for many Months after he was dead; because it unluckily fell
out

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out that he died about the Beginning of the Year.

To mention no more of their impertinent Predictions: What have we to do with their Advertisements about *Pills, and Drink for the Venereal Disease*, or their mutual Quarrels in Verse and Prose of *Whig and Tory*? wherewith the Stars have little to do.

Having long observed and lamented these, and a Hundred other Abuses of this Art, too tedious to repeat; I resolved to proceed in a new Way; which I doubt not will be to the general Satisfaction of the Kingdom. I can this Year produce but a Specimen of what I design for the future; having employed most Part of my Time in adjusting and correcting the Calculations I made for some Years past; because I would offer nothing to the World of which I am not as fully satisfied, as that I am now alive. For these two last Years I have not failed in above one or two Particulars, and those of no very great Moment. I exactly foretold the Mis-carriage at *Toulon*, with all its Particulars; and the Loss of Admiral *Shovel**; although I was mistaken as to the Day, placing that Accident about Thirty-six Hours sooner than

* Sir *Cloudesty Shovel*, and his Fleet, were wrecked at the Isles of *Scilly*, Oct. 22, 1707.

it happened; but, upon reviewing my Schemes, I quickly found the Cause of that Error. I likewise foretold the Battle at *Almanza* * to the very Day and Hour, with the Loss on both Sides, and the Consequences thereof. All which I shewed to some Friends many Months before they happened; that is, I gave them Papers sealed up, to open at such a Time, after which they were at Liberty to read them; and there they found my Predictions true in every Article, except one or two very minute.

As for the few following Predictions I now offer the World, I forbore to publish them, until I had perused the several Almanacks for the Year we are now entered upon. I found them all in the usual Strain, and I beg the Reader will compare their Manner with mine: And here I make bold to tell the World, that I lay the whole Credit of my Art upon the Truth of these Predictions; and I will be content that *Partridge*, and the rest of his Clan, may hoot me for a Cheat and Impostor, if I fail in any single Particular of Moment. I believe any Man, who reads this Paper, will look upon me to be at least a Person of as much Honesty and Understanding, as a common Maker of Almanacks.

* The Battle of *Almanza* was fought April 25, N. S. 1707.

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nacks. I do not lurk in the Dark; I am not wholly unknown in the World; I have set my Name at length, to be a Mark of Infamy to Mankind, if they shall find I deceive them.

In one Point I must desire to be forgiven; that I talk more sparingly of Home-Affairs. As it would be Imprudence to discover Secrets of State, so it might be dangerous to my Person: But in smaller Matters, and such as are not of publick Consequence, I shall be very free: And the Truth of my Conjectures will as much appear from these as the other. As for the most signal Events Abroad in *France, Flanders, Italy, and Spain*, I shall make no Scruple to predict them in plain Terms: Some of them are of Importance, and, I hope, I shall seldom mistake the Day they will happen: Therefore I think good to inform the Reader, that I all along make Use of the * *Old Stile* observed in *England*; which I desire he will compare with that of the News-Papers, at the Time they relate the Actions I mention.

I must add one Word more: I know it hath been the Opinion of several learned Persons, who think well enough of the true
Art

* The Old Stile was changed, by an *English* Act of Parliament, to the New, which commenced *September* 1753, by altering the 3d to the 14th, making it eleven Days earlier.

Art of Astrology, that the Stars do only *incline*, and not force the Actions or Wills of Men. And therefore, however I may proceed by right Rules, yet I cannot in Prudence so confidently assure that the Events will follow exactly as I predict them.

I hope, I have maturely considered this Objection, which in some Cases is of no little Weight. For Example: A Man may, by the Influence of an over-ruling Planet, be disposed or inclined to Lust, Rage or Avarice; and yet by the Force of Reason overcome that evil Influence. And this was the Case of *Socrates*: But the great Events of the World usually depending upon Numbers of Men, it cannot be expected they should all unite to cross their Inclinations, from pursuing a general Design, wherein they unanimously agree. Besides, the Influence of the Stars reacheth to many Actions and Events; which are not any Way in the Power of Reason; as Sicknes, Death, and what we commonly call Accidents; with many more needles to repeat.

But now it is Time to proceed to my Predictions; which I have begun to calculate from the Time that the *Sun* entereth into *Aries*. And this I take to be properly the Beginning of the natural Year. I pursue them to the Time that he entereth *Libra*, or somewhat more, which is the busy Period
of

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of the Year. The Remainder I have not yet adjusted upon Account of several Impediments needless here to mention. Besides, I must remind the Reader again, that this is but a Specimen of what I design in succeeding Years to treat more at large, if I may have Liberty and Encouragement.

My first Prediction is but a Trifle; yet I will mention it, to show how ignorant those sottish Pretenders to Astrology are in their own Concerns: It relateth to *Partrige* the Almanack-Maker; I have consulted the Star of his Nativity by my own Rules; and find he will infallibly die upon the 29th of *March* next, about Eleven at Night, of a raging Fever: Therefore I advise him to consider of it, and settle his Affairs in Time.

The Month of *APRIL* will be observable for the Death of many great Persons. On the 4th will die the Cardinal *de Noailles*, Archbishop of *Paris*: On the 11th the young Prince of *Asturias*, Son to the Duke of *Anjou*: On the 14th a great Peer of this Realm will die at his Country-house: On the 19th an old *Layman* of great Fame and Learning: And on the 23d an eminent Goldsmith in *Lombard-street*. I could mention others, both at Home and Abroad, if I did not consider such Events of very little Use or Instruction to the Reader, or to the World.

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As to publick Affairs: On the 7th of this Month there will be an Insurrection in *Dauphine*, occasioned by the Oppressions of the People; which will not be quieted in some Months,

On the 15th will be a violent Storm on the South-East Coast of *France*; which will destroy many of their Ships, and some in the very Harbours.

The 19th will be famous for the Revolt of a whole Province or Kingdom, excepting one City; by which the Affairs of a certain Prince in the Alliance will take a better Face.

May, against common Conjectures will be no very busy Month in *Europe* but very signal for the Death of the *Dauphin*, which will happen on the 7th, after a short Fit of Sickness, and grievous Torments with the Strangury. He dieth less lamented by the Court than the Kingdom.

On the 9th a *Mareschal* of *France* will break his Leg by a Fall from his Horse. I have not been able to discover whether he will then die or not.

On the 11th will begin a most important Siege, which the Eyes of all *Europe* will be upon: I cannot be more particular; for in relating Affairs that so nearly concern the *Confederates*, and consequently this King-

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dom, I am forced to confine myself, for several Reasons very obvious to the Reader.

On the 15th News will arrive of a very *surprizing Event*, than which nothing could be more unexpected.

On the 19th, three noble Ladies of this Kingdom, will, against all Expectation, prove with Child, to the great Joy of their Husbands.

On the 23d, a famous Buffoon of the Play-house will die a ridiculous Death, suitable to his Vocation.

June. This Month will be distinguished at Home, by the utter dispersing of those ridiculous deluded Enthusiasts, commonly called *Prophets**; occasioned chiefly by seeing the Time come, when many of their Prophecies were to be fulfilled; and then finding themselves deceived by contrary Events.

* About this Time there were some *English* and *Scotch* Jesuits from *Rome*, sent to *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, to divide and distract the People with enthusiastic Principles of Religion, in Opposition to the Established Church. These Jesuits called themselves *French* Prophets; they pretended to Inspiration, and deluded many People out of their Money (particularly Sir *Richard Buckley* and one Mr. *Riggs*) as well as Reason; but were soon detected as Impostors, and obliged to leave the Kingdom upon their being found out to be Jesuits in Disguise. Dr. *Berkely*, afterwards Bishop of *Cloyne*, saw one of these Jesuits at *Rome*, who acknowledged himself to have been one of the Prophets.

Events, It is indeed to be admired how any Deceiver can be so weak to foretel Things near at Hand ; when a very few Months must of Necessity discover the Imposture to all the World ; In this Point less prudent than common Almanack-Makers, who are so wise to wander in Generals, talk dubiously, and leave to the Reader the Business of Interpreting.

On the 1st of this Month a *French* General will be killed by a random Shot of a Cannon-Ball.

On the 6th, a Fire will break out in the Suburbs of *Paris*, which will destroy above a thousand Houses, and seemeth to be the Foreboding of what will happen, to the Surprize of all *Europe*, about the End of the following Month.

On the 10th, a great Battle will be fought, which will begin at Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, and last until Nine at Night, with great Obstinacy, but no very decisive Event. I shall not name the Place, for the Reasons aforesaid ; but the Commanders on each Left Wing will be killed.—I see Bonfires, and hear the Noise of Guns for a Victory.

On the 14th there will be a false Report of the *French* King's Death.

On the 20th Cardinal *Portocarrero* will die of a Dysentery, with great Suspicion of

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Poison; but the Report of his Intention to revolt to King *Charles* will prove false.

July. The 6th of this Month a *certain General* will, by a glorious Action, recover the Reputation he lost by former Misfortunes.

On the 12th a *great Commander* will die a Prisoner in the Hands of his Enemies.

On the 14th a shameful Discovery will be made of a *French Jesuit* giving Poison to a great Foreign General; and, when he is put to the Torture, will make wonderful Discoveries.

In short, this will prove a Month of great Action, if I might have Liberty to relate the Particulars.

At Home, the Death of an old famous Senator will happen on the 15th at his Country House, worn with Age and Diseases.

But that which will make this Month memorable to all Posterity, is the Death of the *French King Lewis* the Fourteenth, after a Week's Sickness at *Marli*; which will happen on the 29th, about Six o'Clock in the Evening. It seemeth to be an Effect of the Gout in his Stomach, followed by a Flux. And in three Days after Monsieur *Chamillard* will follow his Master, dying suddenly of an Apoplexy.

In

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In this Month likewise an *Ambassador* will die in *London*; but I cannot assign the Day.

August. The Affairs of *France* will seem to suffer no Change for a while under the Duke of *Burgundy's* Administration. But the Genius that animated the whole Machine being gone will be the Cause of mighty Turns and Revolutions in the following Year. The new King maketh yet little Change either in the Army or the Ministry; but the Libels against his Grandfather, that fly about his very Court, give him Uneasiness.

I see an Express in mighty Haste, with Joy and Wonder in his Looks, arriving by the Break of Day on the 26th of this Month, having travelled in three Days a prodigious Journey by Land and Sea. In the Evening I hear Bells and Guns, and see the Blazing of a thousand Bonfires.

A young Admiral, of noble Birth, doth likewise this Month gain immortal Honour, by a great Atchievement.

The Affairs of *Poland* are this Month entirely settled; *Augustus* resigneth his Pretensions, which he had again taken up for some Time: *Stanislaus* is peaceably possessed of the Throne; and the King of *Sweden* declareth for the Emperor.

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I cannot omit one particular Accident here at Home; that, near the End of this Month, much Mischief will be done at *Bartholomew Fair*, by the Fall of a Booth.

September. This Month begins with a very surprizing Fit of Frosty Weather, which will last near twelve Days.

The Pope having long languished, last Month the Swellings in his Legs breaking, and the Flesh mortifying, will die on the 11th Instant: And in three Weeks Time, after a mighty Contest, be succeeded by a Cardinal of the *Imperial* Faction, but a Native of *Tuscany*, who is now about sixty-one Years old.

The *French* Army acteth now wholly on the Defensive, strongly fortified in their Trenches; and the young *French* King sendeth Overtures for a Treaty of Peace, by the Duke of *Mantua*; which, because it is a Matter of State that concerneth us here at Home, I shall speak no farther of.

I shall add but one Prediction more, and that in mystical Terms, which shall be included in a Verse out of *Virgil*.

*Alter erit jam Tethys, & altera quæ vebat
Argo
Delectos Heroas.*

Upon

PREDICTIONS *for the Year 1708.* 167

Upon the 25th Day of this Month the fulfilling of this Prediction will be manifest to every Body.

This is the farthest I have proceeded in my Calculations for the present Year. I do not pretend, that these are all the great Events which will happen in this Period; but that those I have set down will infallibly come to pass. It may, perhaps, still be objected, why I have not spoke more particularly of Affairs at Home; or of the Success of our Armies Abroad, which I might, and could very largely have done. But those in Power have wisely discouraged Men from meddling in publick Concerns; and I was resolved, by no Means, to give the least Offence. This I will venture to say; that it will be a glorious Campaign for the Allies; wherein the *English* Forces, both by Sea and Land, will have their full Share of Honour: That her Majesty Queen ANNE will continue in Health and Prosperity; and that no ill Accident will arrive to any in the chief Ministry.

As to the particular Events I have mentioned, the Readers may judge by the fulfilling of them, whether I am of the Level with common Astrologers; who, with an old paultry Cant, and a few Pot-hooks for Planets to amuse the Vulgar, have, in my

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Opinion, too long been suffered to abuse the World. But an honest Physician ought not to be despised, because there are such Things as Mountebanks. I hope I have some Share of Reputation, which I would not willingly forfeit for a Frolick, or Humour: And I believe no Gentleman, who reads this Paper, will look upon it to be of the same Cast, or Mold, with the common Scribbles that are every Day hawked about. My Fortune hath placed me above the little Regard of writing for a few Pence, which I neither value nor want: Therefore, let not wise Men too hastily condemn this Essay, intended for a good Design, to cultivate and improve an antient Art, long in Disgrace, by having fallen into mean unskilful Hands. A little Time will determine whether I have deceived others, or myself; and, I think, it is no very unreasonable Request, that Men would please to suspend their Judgments until then. I was once of the Opinion with those who despise all Predictions from the Stars, until in the Year 1686, a Man of Quality shewed me, written in his *Album*, that the most learned Astronomer Captain *Hally* assured him, he would never believe any Thing of the Stars Influence, if there were not a great Revolution in *England* in the Year 1688. Since that Time, I began to have other Thoughts; and, after eighteen
Years

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Years diligent Study and Application, I think I have no Reason to repent of my Pains. I shall detain the Reader no longer than to let him know, that the Account I design to give of next Year's Events shall take in the principal Affairs that happen in *Europe*: And if I be denied the Liberty of offering it to my own Country, I shall appeal to the learned World, by publishing it in *Latin*, and giving Order to have it printed in *Holland*.

THE

THE
ACCOMPLISHMENT

Of the First of

Mr. *Bickerstaff*'s PREDICTIONS.

B E I N G

An ACCOUNT of the Death of Mr.
PARTRIGE, the *Almanack-Maker*, upon
the 29th Instant.

In a LETTER to a Person of Honour.

Written in the Year 1708.

My LORD,

I N Obedience to your Lordship's Com-
mands, as well as to satisfy my own Cu-
riosity, I have for some Days past enquired
constantly after *Partridge* the Almanack-
Maker; of whom it was foretold in Mr.
Bickerstaff's Predictions, published about a
Month ago, that he should die the 29th
Instant, about Eleven at Night, of a raging
Fever.

Fever. I had some Sort of Knowledge of him when I was employed in the Revenue; because he used every Year to present me with his Almanack, as he did other Gentlemen; upon the Score of some little Gratitude we gave him. I saw him accidentally once or twice about ten Days before he died; and observed he began very much to droop and languish, although I hear his Friends did not seem to apprehend him in any Danger. About two or three Days he grew ill, was confined first to his Chamber, and in a few Hours after to his Bed; where * Dr. *Casse*, and Mrs. *Kirleus* were sent for to visit, and to prescribe to him. Upon this Intelligence, I sent thrice every Day one Servant or other to enquire after his Health; and, Yesterday about Four in the Afternoon, Word was brought me that he was past Hopes: Upon which I prevailed with myself to go and see him; partly out of Commiseration, and, I confess, partly out of Curiosity. He knew me very well, seemed surprized at my Condescension, and made me Compliments upon it as well as he could in the Condition he was. The People about him said, he had been for some Time delirious: But when I saw him, he had his Understanding as well as ever I knew, and spoke strong and hearty, with-

* Two famous Quacks at that Time in *London*.

without any seeming Uneasiness or Constraint. After I had told him, I was sorry to see him in those melancholy Circumstances, and said some other Civilities suitable to the Occasion; I desired him to tell me freely and ingenuously, whether the Predictions, Mr. *Bickerstaff* had published relating to his Death, had not too much affected and worked on his Imagination. He confessed he often had it in his Head, but never with much Apprehension 'till about a Fortnight before; since which Time it had the perpetual Possession of his Mind and Thoughts; and he did verily believe was the true natural Cause of his present Distemper: For, said he, I am thoroughly persuaded, and I think I have very good Reasons, that Mr. *Bickerstaff* spoke altogether by Guess, and knew no more what will happen this Year than I did myself. I told him his Discourse surprized me; and I would be glad he were in a State of Health to be able to tell me what Reasons he had to be convinced of Mr. *Bickerstaff*'s Ignorance. He replied, I am a poor ignorant Fellow, bred to a mean Trade; yet I have Sense enough to know, that all Pretences of foretelling by Astrology are Deceits; for this manifest Reason, because the Wise and Learned, who can only judge whether there be any Truth in this Science, do all unanimously agree to laugh at and despise it; and
none

none but the poor ignorant Vulgar give it any Credit, and that only upon the Word of such silly Wretches as I and my Fellows, who can hardly write or read. I then asked him, why he had not calculated his own Nativity, to see whether it agreed with *Bickerstaff's* Predictions? At which he shook his Head, and said, O! Sir, this is no Time for Jestings, but for repenting those Fooleries, as I do now from the very Bottom of my Heart. By what I can gather from you, said I, the Observations and Predictions you printed with your Almanacks were mere Impositions upon the People. He replied, if it were otherwise, I should have the less to answer for. We have a common Form for all those Things: As to foretelling the Weather, we never meddle with that, but leave it to the Printer, who taketh it out of any old Almanack as he thinketh fit: The rest was my own Invention to make my Almanack sell; having a Wife to maintain, and no other Way to get my Bread; for mending old Shoes is a poor Livelihood: And (added he sighing) I wish I may not have done more Mischief by my Physick than by Astrology, although I had some good Receipts from my Grandmother, and my own Compositions were such, as I thought could, at least, do no Hurt.

I had

I had some other Discourse with him, which I now cannot call to Mind; and I fear I have already tired your Lordship. I shall only add one Circumstance, That on his Death-bed he declared himself a Non-conformist, and had a fanatick Preacher to be his spiritual Guide. After Half an Hour's Conversation, I took my Leave, being almost stifled by the Closeness of the Room. I imagined he could not hold out long; and therefore withdrew to a little Coffee-house hard by, leaving a Servant at the House with Orders to come immediately, and tell me, as near as he could, the Minute when *Partridge* should expire, which was not above two Hours after; when, looking upon my Watch, I found it to be above five Minutes after Seven: By which it is clear, that Mr. *Bickerstaff* was mistaken almost four Hours in his Calculation. In the other Circumstances he was exact enough. But whether he hath not been the Cause of this poor Man's Death, as well as the Predictor, may be very reasonably disputed. However, it must be confessed, the Matter is odd enough, whether we should endeavour to account for it by Chance or the Effect of Imagination: For my own Part, although I believe no Man hath less Faith in these Matters; yet I shall wait with some Impatience, and not without Expectation, the fulfilling of Mr. *Bickerstaff*'s

PARTRIGÈ's Death. 175

Bickerstaff's second Prediction; that the Cardinal *de Noailles* is to die upon the fourth of *April*; and if that should be verified as exactly as this of poor *Partridge*; I must own, I should be wholly surprized, and at a Loss; and infallibly expect the Accomplishment of all the rest.

The

The following Piece, under the Name of *John Partridge*, was written by that famous Poet *Nicholas Rowe*, Esq; and therefore being upon the same Subject, although not by the same Author, we have thought fit to publish it, that the Reader may have the whole Account together.

'Squire *Bickerstaff* Detected :

O R T H E

Astrological Impostor Convicted.

By JOHN PARTRIGE,
Student in Physick and Astrology.

IT is hard, my dear Countrymen of these United Nations; it is very hard, that a *Briton* born, a Protestant Astrologer, a Man of Revolution Principles, an Assertor of the Liberty of the People, should cry out, in vain, for Justice against a *Frenchman*, a Papist, and an illiterate Pretender to Science; that would blast my Reputation, most inhumanly bury me alive, and defraud my native Country of those Services, which, in my
double

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double Capacity *, I daily offer the Pub-
lick.

What great Provocations I have received, let the impartial Reader judge, and how unwillingly, even in my own Defence, I now enter the Lists against Falsehood, Ignorance, and Envy: But I am exasperated at length, to drag out this *Cacus* from the Den of Obscurity where he lurketh, detect him by the Light of those Stars he hath so impudently traduced, and shew there is not a Monster in the Skies so pernicious and malevolent to Mankind, as an ignorant Pretender to Physick and Astrology. I shall not directly fall on the many gross Errors, nor expose the notorious Absurdities of this prostituted Libeller, until I have let the learned World fairly into the Controversy depending, and then leave the Unprejudiced to judge of the Merits and Justice of my Cause.

It was towards the Conclusion of the Year 1707, when an impudent Pamphlet crept into the World, intituled, PREDICTIONS, &c. by Isaac Bickerstaff; *Esq*; Among the many arrogant Assertions laid down by that lying Spirit of Divination, he was pleased to pitch on the Cardinal *de Noailles*, and myself, among many other eminent and illustrious Persons, that were to die within the Com-

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pass

* Physician and Astrologer.

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pass of the ensuing Year; and peremptorily fixes the Month, Day, and Hour of our Deaths: This, I think, is sporting with great Men, and publick Spirits, to the Scandal of Religion, and Reproach of Power; and if sovereign Princes, and Astrologers, must make Diversion for the Vulgar; why, then, farewell, say I, to all Governments Ecclesiastical and Civil. But, I thank my better Stars, I am alive to confront this false and audacious Predictor, and to make him rue the Hour he ever affronted a Man of Science and Resentment. The Cardinal may take what Measures he pleaseth with him; as his Excellency is a Foreigner, and a Papist, he hath no Reason to rely on me for his Justification; I shall only assure the World he is alive; but as he was bred to Letters, and is Master of a Pen, let him use it in his own Defence. In the mean Time, I shall present the Publick with a faithful Narrative of the ungenerous Treatment, and hard Usage, I have received from the virulent Papers, and malicious Practices of this pretended Astrologer.

A true

A true and impartial Account of the Proceedings of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq; against Me, John Partrige, Student in Physick and Astrology.

THE 29th of March, Anno Dom. 1708, being the Night this sham Prophet had so impudently fixed for my last, which made little Impression on myself; but I cannot answer for my whole Family; for my Wife, with a Concern more than usual, prevailed on me to take somewhat to sweat for a Cold; and, between the Hours of Eight and Nine, to go to Bed: The Maid, as she was warming my Bed, with a Curiosity natural to young Wenches, runneth to the Window, and asketh of one passing the Street, who the Bell tolled for? Doctor Partrige, sayeth he, the famous Almanack-maker, who died suddenly this Evening: The poor Girl provoked, told him he lied like a Rascal; the other very sedately replied, the Sexton had so informed him, and, if false, he was to blame for imposing upon a Stranger. She asked a Second and a Third

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as they passed; and every one was in the same Tone. Now, I do not say these were Accomplices to a certain Astrological 'Squire, and that one *Bickerstaff* might be sauntering thereabouts; because I will assert nothing here, but what I dare attest for plain Matter of Fact. My Wife, at this, fell into a violent Disorder, and I must own, I was a little discomposed at the Oddness of the Accident. In the mean Time, one knocketh at the Door; *Betty* runneth down, and opening findeth a sober grave Person; who modestly enquireth, if this was Dr. *Partrige's*? She, taking him for some cautious City Patient, that came at that Time for Privacy, sheweth him into the Dining Room. As soon as I could compose myself, I went to him, and was surprized to find my Gentleman mounted on a Table, with a Two-Foot Rule in his Hand, measuring my Walls, and taking the Dimensions of the Room. Pray, Sir, sayeth I, not to interrupt you, have you any Business with me? Only, Sir, replieth he, order the Girl to bring me a better Light, for this is but a very dim one. Sir, sayeth I, my Name is *Partrige*: Oh! the Doctor's Brother, belike, crieth he; the Stair-case, I believe, and these two Apartments hung in close Mourning, will be sufficient, and only a Strip of Bays round the other Rooms. The Doctor must needs die rich, he had
great

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great Dealings in his Way for many Years; if he had no Family Coat, you had as good use the 'Scutcheons of the Company; they are as showish, and will look as magnificent as if he was descended from the Blood Royal. With that I assumed a greater Air of Authority, and demanded who employed him, or how he came there? Why, I was sent, Sir, by the Company of Undertakers, sayeth he, and they were employed by the honest Gentleman, who is Executor to the good Doctor departed; and our rascally Porter, I believe, is fallen fast asleep with the black Cloth and Sconces; or he had been here, and we might have been tacking up by this Time. Sir, sayeth I, pray be advised by a Friend, and make the best of your Speed out of my Doors, for I hear my Wife's Voice, (which, by the bye, is pretty distinguishable) and in that Corner of the Room standeth a good Cudgel, which some Body hath felt before now; if that light in her Hands, and she know the Business you came about, without consulting the Stars, I can assure you it will be employed very much to the Detriment of your Person. Sir, crieth he, bowing with great Civility, I perceive extreme Grief for the Loss of the Doctor disordereth you a little at present; but early in the Morning I will wait on you with all necessary Materials. Now I mention not Mr. *Bickerstaff*;

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nor do I say, that a certain Star-gazing 'Squire hath been playing my Executor before his Time; but I leave the World to judge, and if it puts Things and Things fairly together, it will not be much wide of the Mark.

Well, once more I get my Doors closed, and prepared for Bed, in hopes of a little Repose, after so many ruffling Adventures; just as I was putting out my Light in order to it, another bounceth as hard as he can knock; I open the Window, and ask who is there, and what he wanteth? I am *Ned*, the Sexton, replieth he, and come to know whether the Doctor left any Orders for a Funeral Sermon; and where he is to be laid, and whether his Grave is to be plain or bricked? Why Sirrah, sayeth I, you know me well enough; you know I am not dead, and how dare you affront me after this Manner? Alack-aday, Sir, replies the Fellow, why it is in Print, and the whole Town knoweth you are dead; why, there is Mr. *White*, the Joiner, is but fitting Screws to your Coffin, he will be here with it in an Instant; he was afraid you would have wanted it before this Time. Sirrah, Sirrah, sayeth I, you shall know To-morrow to your Cost that I am alive, and alive like to be. Why, it is strange, Sir, sayeth he, you should make such a Secret of your Death to us that
are

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are your Neighbours; it looketh as if you had a Design to defraud the Church of its Dues; and let me tell you, for one that hath lived so long by the Heavens, that it is unhandfomely done. Hift, hift, sayeth another Rogue, that stood by him, away, Doctor, into your Flannel Gear as fast as you can; for here is a whole Pack of Dismals coming to you, with their black Equipage; and how indecent will it look for you to stand frightening Folks at your Window, when you should have been in your Coffin these three Hours? In short, what with Undertakers, Embalmers, Joiners, Sextons, and your damned Elegy-hawkers, upon a late Practitioner in Physick and Astrology, I got not one Wink of Sleep that Night, nor scarce a Moment's Rest ever since. Now, I doubt not, but this villainous 'Squire has the Impudence to assert, that these are entirely Strangers to him; he, good Man, knoweth nothing of the Matter; and honest *Isaac Bickerstaff*, I warrant you, is more a Man of Honour, than to be an Accomplice with a Pack of Rascals, that walk the Streets on Nights, and disturb good People in their Beds. But he is out, if he thinks the whole World is blind; for there is one *John Partridge* can smell a Knave as far as *Grub-street*, although he lieth in the most exalted Garret, and writeth himself 'Squire: But I

will keep my Temper, and proceed in the Narration.

I could not stir out of Doors for the Space of three Months after this, but presently one cometh up to me in the Street, Mr. *Partridge*, that Coffin you was last buried in, I have not been yet paid for. Doctor, cried another Dog, how do you think People can live by making of Graves for nothing? Next Time you die, you may even toll out the Bell yourself for *Ned*. A third Rogue tippeth me by the Elbow, and wondereth how I have the Conscience to sneak Abroad, without paying my Funeral Expences. Lord, sayeth one, I durst have swore that was honest Dr. *Partridge*, my old Friend; but, poor Man! he is gone. I beg your Pardon, sayeth another, you look so like my old Acquaintance that I used to consult on some private Occasions, but, alack! he is gone the Way of all Flesh. Look, look, look, crieth a Third, after a competent Space of staring at me; would not one think our Neighbour the Almanack-maker was crept out of his Grave, to take the other Peep at the Stars in this World, and shew how much he is improved in Fortune-telling by having taken a Journey to the other?

Nay, the very Reader of our Parish, a good, sober, discreet Person, hath sent two or three Times for me to come and be buried

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ried decently, or send him sufficient Reasons to the contrary; or, if I have been interred in any other Parish, to produce my Certificate as the Act requireth. My poor Wife is almost run distracted with being called Widow *Partridge*, when she knoweth it is false; and once a Term she is cited into the Court, to take out Letters of Administration. But the greatest Grievance is, a poultry Quack, that taketh up my Calling just under my Nose, and in his printed Directions with *N. B.*-----sayeth, he liveth in the House of the late ingenious Mr. *Partridge*, an eminent Practitioner in Leather, Physick, and Astrology.

But, to shew how far the wicked Spirit of Envy, Malice, and Resentment can hurry some Men, my nameless old Persecutor had provided me a Monument at the Stone-cutter's, and would have it erected in the Parish Church; and this Piece of notorious and expensive Villainy had actually succeeded, if I had not used my utmost Interest with the Vestry, where it was carried at last but by two Voices, that I am alive. That Stratagem failing, out cometh a long sable Elegy, bedecked with Hour-glasses, Mattocks, Sculls, Spades, and Skeletons, with an Epitaph as confidently written to abuse me and my Profession, as if I had been under Ground these twenty Years.

And,

And, after such barbarous Treatment as this, can the World blame me, when I ask, What is become of the Freedom of an *Englishman*? And where is the Liberty and Property that my *old glorious* Friend came over to assert? We have drove Popery out of the Nation, and sent Slavery to foreign Climes. The Arts only remain in Bondage; when a Man of Science and Character shall be openly insulted, in the Midst of the many useful Services he is daily paying the Publick. Was it ever heard, even in *Turkey* or *Algiers*, that a State Astrologer was bantered out of his Life by an ignorant Impostor, or bawled out of the World by a Pack of villainous deep-mouthed Hawkers? Though I print Almanacks, and publish Advertisements; although I produce Certificates under the Minister and Church-Wardens Hands, I am alive, and attest the same on Oath at Quarter Sessions; out cometh, *A full and true Relation of the Death and Interment of JOHN PARTRIGE*: Truth is bore down, Attestations neglected, the Testimony of sober Persons despised, and a Man is looked upon by his Neighbours, as if he had been seven Years dead, and is buried alive in the Midst so his Friends and Acquaintance.

Now can any Man of common Sense think it consistent with the Honour of my Profession, and not much beneath the Dignity

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nity of a Philosopher, to stand bawling before his own Door---Alive! alive! Ho! The famous Dr. *Partridge*! No Counterfeit, but all alive! ——— As if I had the twelve Cœlestial Monsters of the *Zodiack* to shew within, or was forced for a Livelihood to turn Retailer to *May* and *Bartholomew* Fairs. Therefore, if her Majesty would but graciously be pleased to think a Hardship of this Nature worthy her Royal Consideration; and the next Parliament, in their great Wisdom, cast but an Eye towards the deplorable Case of their old *Philomath*, that annually bestoweth his poetical good Wishes on them: I am sure, there is one *Isaac Bickerstaff*, Esq; would soon be trussed up for his bloody Predictions, and putting good Subjects in Terror of their Lives: And that henceforward to murder a Man by Way of of Prophecy, and bury him in a printed Letter, either to a Lord or Commoner, shall as legally entitle him to the present Possession of *Tyburn*, as if he robbed on the Highway, or cut your Throat in Bed.

I shall demonstrate to the Judicious, that *France* and *Rome* are at the Bottom of this horrid Conspiracy against me; and that *Culprit* aforesaid is a *Popish* Emissary, hath paid his Visits to *St. Germain*s, and is now in the Measures of *Lewis XIV.* That, in attempting

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ing my Reputation, there is a general Mas-
sacre of Learning designed in these Realms:
And, through my Sides, there is a Wound
given to all the Protestant Almanack-Makers
in the Universe.

Vivat Regina.

A F A-

(189)

A FAMOUS
PREDICTION
OF
MERLIN,

The BRITISH WIZARD.

Written above a Thousand Years ago, and
relating to the Year 1709.

With Explanatory NOTES. By T. N. Philomath.

Written in the Year 1709.

LAST Year was published a Paper of Predictions, pretended to be written by one *Isaac Bickerstaff*, Esq; but the true Design of it was to ridicule the Art of Astrology, and expose its Professors as ignorant, or Impostors. Against this Imputation, Dr. *Partridge* hath learnedly vindicated himself in his Almanack for that Year.

For

190 MERLIN'S PROPHECY.

For a farther Defence of this famous Art, I have thought fit to present the World with the following Prophecy. The Original is said to be of the famous *Merlin*, who lived about a thousand Years ago: And the following Translation is Two Hundred Years old; for it seemeth to be written near the End of *Henry* the Seventh's Reign. I found it in an old Edition of *Merlin's* Prophecies; imprinted at *London* by *Johan Haukyns*, in the Year 1530, Page 39. I set it down Word for Word in the old Orthography, and shall take Leave to subjoin a few explanatory Notes.

S CEE and CEE added to PIRE
Of Fraunce his Woe thys is the
Spgne,

Tamys Rybere twys p-frozed,
Walke sans wetpng Shoes ne Hosen.
Then cometh foorth, Ich understonde
From Towne of Stoffe to fatten Londe,
An herdie Chifcan, woe the Horne
To Fraunce that evere he was borne.
Then shall the ffshe beweppe his Bosse;
Nor shall gein Berrys make up the Losse:
Honge Symnele shall again miscarrye:
And Norways Pryd again shall marrey.
And fram the Tree where Blossoms sele,
Rise Fruit shall come, and all is wele.
Reaums shall daunce Honde in Honde
And it shall be merpe in old Englonde:
Then old Englonde shall be no more,
And no Man shall be sorie therefore.
Geryon shall have three Hades agayne,
Till Hapsburge maketh them but twayne.

Seven

MERLIN's PROPHECY. 191

Seven and Ten, &c.] This Line describes the Year when these Events shall happen. Seven and Ten make Seventeen, which I explain seventeen Hundred, and this Number added to Nine makes the Year we are now in; for it must be understood of the natural Year, which begins the first of *January*.

Tamys Ryvere twys, &c.] The River *Thames* frozen twice in one Year, so as Men do walk on it, is a very signal Accident; which perhaps hath not fallen out for several Hundred Years before; and is the Reason why some Astrologers have thought that this Prophecy could never be fulfilled, because they imagined such a Thing could never happen in our Climate.

From Towne of Stoffe, &c.] This is a plain Designation of the Duke of *Marlborough*. One Kind of Stuff used to fatten Land is called *Marle*, and every Body knows, that *Borough* is a Name for a Town; and this Way of Expression is after the usual dark Manner of old Astrological Predictions.

Then shall the Fyshe, &c.] By the *Fish* is understood the *Dauphin* of *France*, as the King's eldest Sons are called: It is here said, he shall lament the Loss of the Duke of *Burgundy*, called the *Bosse*, which is an old *English* Word for (*Hump-shoulder*, or *Crook-back*, as that Duke is known to be: And the Prophecy seemeth to mean, that
he

he should be overcome, or slain. By the *Grin Berrys*, in the next Line, is meant the young Duke of *Berry*, the *Dauphin's* third Son, who shall not have Valour or Fortune enough to supply the Loss of his eldest Brother.

Yonge Symnele, &c.] By *Symnele* is meant the pretended Prince of *Wales*; who, if he offereth to attempt any Thing against *England*, shall miscarry as he did before. *Lambert Symnel* is the Name of a young Man noted in our Histories for personating the Son (as I remember) of *Edward* the Fourth.

And Norways Pryd, &c.] I cannot guess who is meant by *Norways Pride**, perhaps the Reader may, as well as the Sense of the two following Lines.

Reaums, &c.] *Reaums*, or, as the Word is now, *Realms*, is the old Name of Kingdoms: And this is a very plain Prediction of our happy Union, with the Felicities that shall attend it. It is added, that *Old England* shall be no more, and yet no Man shall be sorry for it. And, indeed, properly speaking, *England* is no more; for the whole Island is one Kingdom, under the Name of *Britain*.

Geryon

* QUEEN ANNE. The Prophecy means, that she should marry a second Time, and have Children that would live.

Geryon shall, &c.] This Prediction, although somewhat obscure, is wonderfully adapt. *Geryon* is said to have been a King of *Spain*, whom *Hercules* slew. It was a Fiction of the Poets, that he had three Heads, which the Author sayeth he shall have again. That is, *Spain* shall have three Kings; which is now wonderfully verified: For, besides the King of *Portugal*, which properly is Part of *Spain*, there are now two Rivals for *Spain*; *Charles* and *Philip*. But *Charles* being descended from the Count of *Hapsburgh*, Founder of the *Austrian* Family, shall soon make those Heads but two: by overturning *Philip*, and driving him out of *Spain*.

Some of these Predictions are already fulfilled; and it is highly probable the rest may be in due Time: And, I think, I have not forced the Words, by my Explanation, into any other Sense than what they will naturally bear. If this be granted, I am sure it must be also allowed, that the Author (whoever he was) was a Person of extraordinary Sagacity; and that Astrology, brought to such Perfection as this, is, by no Means, an Art to be despised; whatever Mr. *Bickerstaff*, or other merry Gentlemen, are pleased to think. As to the Tradition of these Lines, having been writ in the Original by *Merlin*; I confess, I lay not much Weight upon it: But it is

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enough to justify their Authority, that the Book from whence I have transcribed them, was printed 170 Years ago, as appeareth by the Title Page. For the Satisfaction of any Gentleman, who may be either doubtful of the Truth, or curious to be informed; I shall give Order to have the very Book sent to the Printer of this Paper, with Directions to let any Body see it that pleaseth; because I believe it is pretty scarce.

A VIN-

A
VINDICATION
OF

ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq.

Against what is objected to him by Mr. PARTRIGE, in his Almanack for the present Year 1709.

By the said ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq;

Written in the Year 1709.

MR. *Partridge* hath been lately pleased to treat me after a very rough Manner, in *that which is called*, His Almanack for the present Year: Such Usage is very undecent from *one Gentleman to another*, and doth not at all contribute to the Discovery of Truth; which ought to be the great End in all Disputes of the *Learned*. To call a Man *Fool*, and *Villain*, and *impudent Fellow*, only for differing from him in a Point merely speculative,

culative, is, in my humble Opinion, a very improper Stile for a Person of *his Education*. I appeal to the *learned World*, whether, in my last Year's Predictions, I gave him the least Provocation for such unworthy Treatment. Philosophers have differed in all Ages, but the discreetest among them have always differed as became Philosophers. Scurrility and Passion, in a Controversy among *Scholars*, is just so much of nothing to the Purpose; and, at best, a tacit Confession of a weak Cause: My Concern is not so much for my own Reputation, as that of the *Republick of Letters*, which Mr. *Partridge* hath endeavoured to wound through my Sides. If Men of publick Spirit must be superciliously treated for their ingenious Attempts; how will true useful Knowledge be ever advanced? I wish Mr. *Partridge* knew the Thoughts which *foreign Universities* have conceived of his ungenerous Proceedings with me; but I am too tender of his Reputation to publish them to the World. That Spirit of Envy and Pride, which blasteth so many rising Geniuses in our Nation, is yet unknown among *Professors* abroad: The Necessity of justifying myself will excuse my Vanity, when I tell the Reader that I have near an Hundred *honorary* Letters from several Parts of *Europe*, (some as far as *Muscovy*) in Praise of my Performance; besides
several

several others, which, as I have been credibly informed, were opened in the Post-Office, and never sent me. * It is true, the *Inquisition* in *Portugal* was pleased to burn my Predictions, and condemn the Author and Readers of them; but, I hope, at the same Time, it will be considered in how deplorable a State *Learning* lieth at present in that Kingdom: And, with the profoundest Veneration for *crowned Heads*, I will presume to add, that it a little concerned *his Majesty of Portugal*, to interpose his Authority in Behalf of a *Scholar* and a *Gentleman*, the Subject of a Nation with which he is now in so strict an Alliance. But the other Kingdoms and States of *Europe* have treated me with more Candour and Generosity. If I had Leave to print the *Latin Letters* transmitted to me from foreign Parts, they would fill a Volume, and be a full Defence against all that Mr. *Partridge*, or his Accomplices of the *Portugal Inquisition*, will be ever able to object; who, by the Way, are the only Enemies my Predictions have ever met with at Home or Abroad. But, I hope, I know better what is due to the Honour of a *learned Correspondence*, in so tender a Point. Yet some of those illustrious Persons will,

O 3

perhaps,

* This is a Fact, as the Author was assured by Sir *Paul Methuen*, then Ambassador to that Crown.

perhaps, excuse me for transcribing a Passage or two in my own Vindication. The most * learned Monsieur *Leibnitz* thus addresseth to me his third Letter: *Illustrissimo Bickerstaffio Astrologiæ Instauratori, &c.* Monsieur *le Clerc*, quoting my Predictions in a Treatise he published last Year, is pleased to say, *Ita nuperrime Bickerstaffius, nobilis Anglus, Astrologorum hujusce Seculi facile Princeps.* Signior *Magliabecchi*, the Great Duke's famous Library-keeper, spendeth almost his whole Letter in Compliments and Praises. It is true, the renowned *Professor of Astronomy* at *Utrecht* seemeth to differ from me in one Article; but it is after the modest Manner that becometh a Philosopher; as, *Pace tanti viri dixerim*: And, Page 55, he seemeth to lay the Error upon the Printer, (as indeed it ought) and sayeth, *vel forsan error Typographi, cum alioquin Bickerstaffius vir doctissimus, &c.*

If Mr. *Partridge* had followed these Examples in the Controversy between us, he might have spared me the Trouble of justifying myself in so publick a Manner. I believe few Men are readier to own their Error than I, or more thankful to those who will please

* The Quotations here inserted are in Imitation of Dr. *Bentley*, in some Part of the famous Controversy between him and *Charles Boyle*, afterwards Earl of *Orkerry*, and Knight of the *Thistle*.

please to inform him of them. But it seems this Gentleman, instead of encouraging the Progress of his own Art, is pleased to look upon all Attempts of that Kind as an Invasion of his Province. He hath been indeed so wise, as to make no Objection against the Truth of my Predictions, except in one single Point, relating to himself: And, to demonstrate how much Men are blinded by their own Partiality, I do solemnly assure the Reader, that he is the *only* Person from whom I ever heard that Objection offered; which Consideration alone, I think, will take off all its Weight.

With my utmost Endeavours, I have not been able to trace above two Objections ever made against the Truth of my last Year's Prophecies: The first is of a *Frenchman*, who was pleased to publish to the World, that *the Cardinal de Noailles was still alive notwithstanding the pretended Prophecy of Monsieur Biquerstaffe*: But how far a *Frenchman*, a *Papist*, and an *Enemy* is to be believed, in his own Cause, against an *English Protestant*, who is *true to the Government*, I shall leave to the candid and impartial Reader.

The other Objection is the unhappy Occasion of this Discourse; and relateth to an Article in my Predictions, which foretold the Death of Mr. *Partridge* to happen on *March 29, 1708*. This he is pleased to

contradict absolutely in the Almanack he hath published for the present Year ; and in that ungentlemanly Manner, (pardon the Expression) as I have above related. In that Work, he very roundly asserteth, That he *is not, only now alive, but was likewise alive upon that very 29th of March, when I had foretold he should die.* This is the Subject of the present Controversy between us ; which I design to handle with all Brevity, Perspecuity, and Calmness. In this Dispute, I am sensible, the Eyes, not only of *England*, but of all *Europe*, will be upon us : And the *Learned* in every Country will, I doubt not, take Part on that Side where they find most Appearance of Reason and Truth.

Without entering into Criticisms of *Chronology* about the Hour of his Death ; I shall only prove, that Mr. *Partridge* is not alive. And my first Argument is thus: Above a thousand Gentlemen having bought his Almanacks for this Year, meerly to find what he said against me ; at every Line they read, they would lift up their Eyes, and cry out, between Rage and Laughter, *They were sure no Man alive ever writ such damned Stuff as this.* Neither did I ever hear that Opinion disputed : So that Mr. *Partridge* lieth under a *Dilemma*, either of disowning his Almanack, or allowing himself to be *no Man alive.*

alive. But now, if an *informed* Carcass walketh still about, and is pleased to call itself *Partridge*; Mr. *Bickerstaff* doth not think himself any Way answerable for that. Neither had the said Carcass any Right to beat the poor Boy, who happened to pass by it in the Street, crying, *A full and true Account of Dr. Partridge's Death, &c.*

Secondly, Mr. *Partridge* pretendeth to tell Fortunes and recover stolen Goods: which all the Parish sayeth he must do by conversing with the Devil, and other evil Spirits: And no wise Man will ever allow he could converse personally with either, until after he was dead.

Thirdly, I will plainly prove him to be dead out of his own Almanack for this Year, and from the very Passage which he produceth to make us think him alive. He there sayeth, *He is not only now alive, but was also alive upon that very 29th of March, which I foretold he should die on:* By this he declareth his Opinion, that a Man may be alive *now*, who was not alive a Twelvemonth ago. And, indeed, there lies the Sophistry of his Argument. He dareth not assert, he was alive ever since the 29th of *March*, but that he *is now alive, and was so on that Day*; I grant the latter, for he did not die until Night, as appeareth by the printed Account of his Death, in a *Letter to a Lord*; and whether

whether he be since revived I leave the World to judge. This, indeed, is perfect cavilling, and I am ashamed to dwell any longer upon it.

Fourthly, I will appeal to Mr. *Partridge* himself, whether it be probable I could have been so indiscreet, to begin my Predictions with the *only* Falshood that ever was pretended to be in them; and this in an Affair at Home, where I had so many Opportunities to be exact; and must have given such Advantages against me to a Person of Mr. *Partridge's* Wit and Learning; who, if he could possibly have raised one single Objection more against the Truth of my Prophecies, would hardly have spared me.

And here I must take Occasion to reprove the abovementioned Writer of the Relation of Mr. *Partridge's* Death, in a *Letter to a Lord*; who was pleased to tax me with a Mistake of *four whole Hours* in my Calculation of that Event. I must confess, this Censure, pronounced with an Air of Certainty, in a Matter that so nearly concerned me, and by a *prejudicious Author*, moved me not a little. But although I were at that Time out of Town, yet several of my Friends, whose Curiosity had led them to be exactly informed, (for as to my own Part, having no Doubt at all of the Matter, I never once thought of it) assured me I computed

to something under Half an Hour, which, (I speak my private Opinion) is an Error of no very great Magnitude, that Men should raise Clamour about it. I shall only say, it would not be amiss, if that Author would henceforth be more tender of other Mens Reputation as well as his own. It is well there were no more Mistakes of that Kind; if there had, I presume he would have told me of them with as little Ceremony.

There is one Objection against Mr. Partridge's Death, which I have sometimes met with, although indeed very slightly offered; That he still continueth to write Almanacks. But this is no more than what is common to all of that Profession; *Gadbury, Poor Robin, Dove, Wing*, and several others, do yearly publish their Almanacks, although several of them have been dead since before the *Revolution*. Now the natural Reason of this I take to be, that whereas it is the Privilege of other Authors, *to live after their Deaths*; Almanack-Makers are only excluded; because their Dissertations treating only upon the Minutes as they pass, become useless as those go off. In Consideration of which, *Time*, whose *Registers* they are, gives them a Lease in Reversion, to continue their Works after their Death.

I should

I should not have given the Publick or myself the Trouble of this Vindication, if my Name had not been made Use of by several Persons, to whom I never lent it; one of which, a few Days ago, was pleased to father on me a new Set of Predictions. But I think these are Things too serious to be trifled with. It grieved me to the Heart, when I saw my Labours, which had cost me so much Thought and Watching, bawled about by common Hawkers, which I only intended for the weighty Consideration of the gravest Persons. This prejudiced the World so much at first, that several of my Friends had the Assurance to ask me, Whether I were in Jest? To which I only answered coldly, *That the Event will shew.* But it is the Talent of our Age and Nation, to turn Things of the greatest Importance into Ridicule. When the End of the Year had *verified all my Predictions*; out cometh Mr. Partridge's Almanack, disputing the Point of his Death; so that I am employed, like the General who was forced to kill his Enemies twice over, whom a *Necromancer* had raised to Life. If Mr. Partridge hath practised the same Experiment upon himself, and be again alive; long may he continue so; but that doth not in the least contradict my Veracity: For, I think, I have clearly proved, *by invincible Demonstration*, that
he

of ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, *Esq*; 205

he died at farthest within Half an Hour of the Time I foretold; and not four Hours sooner, as the abovementioned Author, in his Letter to a Lord, hath maliciously suggested, with Design to blast my Credit, by charging me with so gross a Mistake.

A PRO-

(2c6)

A
P R O J E C T

FOR THE
Advancement of RELIGION,
AND THE
Reformation of MANNERS.

Written about the Year 1709.

To the COUNTESS of BERKLEY *.

MADAM,
MY Intention in prefixing your Ladyship's Name is not, after the common Form, to desire your Protection of the following Papers ; which I take to be a very
unrea-

* *Elizabeth, Daughter of Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden, and Sister to Edward Earl of Gainsborough.*

unreasonable Request; since by being inscribed to your Ladyship, although without your Knowledge, and from a concealed Hand, you cannot recommend them without some Suspicion of Partiality. My real Design is, I confess, the very same I have often detested in most Dedications; That of publishing your Praises to the World. Not upon the Subject of your noble Birth, for I know others as noble; or of the Greatness of your Fortune, for I know others far greater; or of that beautiful Race (the Images of their Parents) which calleth you Mother: For even this may, perhaps, have been equalled in some other Age, or Country. Besides, none of these Advantages do derive any Accomplishments to the Owners; but serve, at best, only to adorn what they really possess. What I intend is your Piety, Truth, good Sense and good Nature, Affability and Charity; wherein I wish your Ladyship had many Equals, or any Superiors; and I wish I could say, I knew them too; for then your Ladyship might have had a Chance to escape this Address. In the mean Time, I think it highly necessary for the Interest of Virtue and Religion, that the whole Kingdom should be informed in some Parts of your Character: For Instance; That the easiest and politest Conversation, joined with the truest Piety, may be observed
in

in your Ladyship, in as great Perfection, as they were ever seen apart in any other Persons. That, by your Prudence and Management under several Disadvantages, you have preserved the Lustre of that most noble Family into which you are grafted, and which the unmeasurable Profusion of Ancestors, for many Generations, had too much eclipsed. Then, how happily you perform every Office of Life, to which Providence hath called you: In the Education of those two incomparable Daughters, whose Conduct is so universally admired; in every Duty of a prudent, complying, affectionate Wife; in that Care which descendeth to the meanest of your Domesticks; and, lastly, in that endless Bounty to the Poor, and Discretion where to distribute it. I insist on my Opinion, that it is of Importance for the Publick to know this, and a great deal more of your Ladyship; yet whoever goeth about to inform them shall, instead of finding Credit, perhaps be censured for a Flatterer. To avoid so usual a Reproach, I declare this to be no Dedication; but meerly an Introduction to a Proposal for the Advancement of Religion and Morals, by tracing, however imperfectly, some few Lineaments in the Character of a Lady, who hath spent all her Life in the Practice and Promotion of both.

AMONG

AMONG all the Schemes offered to the Publick in this projecting Age, I have observed, with some Displeasure, that there have never been any for the Improvement of Religion and Morals: Which, besides the Piety of the Design from the Consequences of such a Reformation in a future Life, would be the best natural Means for advancing the publick Felicity of the State, as well as the present Happiness of every Individual. For, as much as Faith and Morality are declined among us, I am altogether confident they might, in a short Time, and with no very great Trouble, be raised to as high a Perfection as Numbers are capable of receiving. Indeed, the Method is so easy and obvious, and some present Opportunities so good, that, in order to have this Project reduced to Practice, there seemeth to want nothing more than to put those in mind, who by their Honour, Duty, and Interest, are chiefly concerned.

But, because it is idle to propose Remedies before we are assured of the Disease,

or to be in Fear until we are convinced of the Danger, I shall first shew, in general, that the Nation is extremely corrupted in Religion and Morals; and then I will offer a short Scheme for the Reformation of both.

As to the first; I know it is reckoned but a Form of Speech, when Divines complain of the Wickedness of the Age: However, I believe, upon a fair Comparison with other Times and Countries, it would be found an undoubted Truth.

For first, to deliver nothing but plain Matter of Fact, without Exaggeration or Satyr, I suppose it will be granted, that hardly One in a Hundred among our People of Quality, or Gentry, appeareth to act by any Principle of Religion. That great Numbers of them do intirely discard it, and are ready to own their Disbelief of all Revelation in ordinary Discourse. Nor is the Case much better among the Vulgar, especially in great Towns, where the Profaneness and Ignorance of Handicraftsman, small Traders, Servants, and the like, are to a Degree very hard to be imagined greater. Then, it is observed abroad, that no Race of Mortals hath so little Sense of Religion as the *English* Soldiers: To confirm which, I have been often told by great Officers in the Army, that, in the whole Compass of
their

their Acquaintance, they could not recollect three of their Profession, who seemed to regard, or believe one Syllable of the Gospel: And the same, at least, may be affirmed of the Fleet. The Consequences of all which, upon the Actions of Men, are equally manifest. They never go about, as in former Times, to hide or palliate their Vices; but expose them freely to View, like any other common Occurrences of Life, without the least Reproach from the World, or themselves. For Instance, any Man will tell you, he intendeth to be drunk this Evening, or was so last Night, with as little Ceremony or Scruple, as he would tell you the Time of the Day. He will let you know he is going to a Wench, or that he hath got a Clap, with as much Indifferency as he would a Piece of publick News. He will swear, curse, or blaspheme, without the least Passion or Provocation. And although all Regard for Reputation be not quite laid aside in the other Sex; it is, however, at so low an Ebb, that very few among them seem to think Virtue, and Conduct, of any Necessity for preserving it. If this be not so, how cometh it to pass, that Women of tainted Reputations find the same Countenance and Reception in all publick Places, with those of the nicest Virtue, who pay and receive Visits from them, without any Manner of

Scruple? Which Proceeding, as it is not very old among us, so I take it to be of most pernicious Consequence. It looketh like a Sort of compounding between Virtue and Vice; as if a Woman were allowed to be vicious, provided she be not profligate: as if there were a certain Point where Gallantry endeth, and Infamy beginneth; or that an Hundred criminal Amours were not as pardonable as Half a Score.

Beside those Corruptions already mentioned, it would be endless to enumerate such as arise from the Excess of Play, or Gaming: The Cheats, the Quarrels, the Oaths, and Blasphemies among the Men: among the Women, the Neglect of Household Affairs, the unlimited Freedoms, the indecent Passion; and, lastly, the known Inlet to all Lewdness, when, after an ill Run, the *Person* must answer the Defects of the *Purse*: The Rule on such Occasions holding true in Play, as it doth in Law; *Quod non habet in Crumena, luat in Corpore*.

But all these are Trifles in Comparison, if we step into other Scenes, and consider the Fraud and Cozenage of trading Men and Shop-keepers: That insatiable Gulph of Injustice and Oppression, The *Law*: The open Traffick of all civil and military Employments (I wish it rested there) without the least Regard to Merit or Qualifications: The

The corrupt Management of Men in Office: The many detestable Abuses in chusing those, who represent the People; with the Management of Interest and Factions among the Representatives: To which I must be bold to add the Ignorance among some of the lower Clergy; the mean servile Temper of others; the pert pragmatistical Demeanour of several young Stagers in Divinity, upon their first producing themselves into the World; with many other Circumstances needless, or rather invidious to mention; which, falling in with the Corruptions already related, have, however unjustly, almost rendered the whole Order contemptible.

This is a short View of the general Depravities among us, without entering into Particulars, which would be an endless Labour. Now, as universal and deep-rooted as these Corruptions appear to be, I am utterly deceived if an effectual Remedy might not be applied to most of them; neither am I at present upon a wild speculative Project, but such a one as may be easily put in Execution.

For, while the Prerogative of giving all Employments continueth in the Crown, either immediately or by Subordination, it is in the Power of the Prince to make Piety and Virtue become the Fashion of the Age; if at the same Time he would make them

necessary Qualifications for Favour and Preferment.

It is clear from present Experience, that the bare Example of the best Prince will not have any mighty Influence where the Age is very corrupt. For when was there ever a better Prince on the Throne than the present Queen? I do not talk of her Talent for Government, her Love of the People, or any other Qualities that are purely regal; but her Piety, Charity, Temperance, Conjugal Love, and whatever other Virtues do best adorn a private Life; wherein, without Question or Flattery, she hath no Superior: Yet neither will it be Satire or peevish Invective to affirm, that Infidelity and Vice are not much diminished since her coming to the Crown, nor will, in Probability, until more effectual Remedies be provided.

Thus human Nature seemeth to lie under this Disadvantage, that the Example alone of a vicious Prince will in Time corrupt an Age; but the Example of a good one will not be sufficient to reform it without further Endeavours. Princes must therefore supply this Defect by a vigorous Exercise of that Authority, which the Law hath left them, by making it every Man's Interest and Honour to cultivate Religion and Virtue; by rendering Vice a Disgrace, and the certain Ruin to Preferment and Pretensions: All
which

which they should first attempt in their own Courts and Families. For Instance, might not the Queen's Domesticks of the middle and lower Sort be obliged upon Penalty of Suspension, or Loss of their Employments, to a constant weekly Attendance on the Service of the Church; to a decent Behaviour in it; to receive the Sacrament four Times a Year; to avoid Swearing and irreligious profane Discourses; and to the Appearance at least of Temperance and Chastity? Might not the Care of all this be committed to the strict Inspection of proper Officers? Might not those of higher Rank, and nearer Access to her Majesty, receive her own Commands to the same Purpose, and be countenanced or disfavoured according as they obey? Might not the Queen lay her Injunctions on the Bishops, - and other great Men of undoubted Piety, to make diligent Enquiry, and give her Notice, whether any Person about her should happen to be of Libertine Principles or Morals? Might not all those, who enter upon any Office in her Majesty's Family, be obliged to take an Oath parellel with that against *Simony*, which is administered to the Clergy? It is not to be doubted, but that if these or the like Proceedings were duly observed, Morality and Religion would soon become fashionable Court-Virtues; and be taken up as the only Methods to get or

keep Employments there; which alone would have a mighty Influence upon many of the Nobility and principal Gentry.

But, if the like Methods were pursued as far as possible, with Regard to those who are in the great Employments of the State; it is hard to conceive how general a Reformation they might in Time produce among us. For, if Piety and Virtue were once reckoned Qualifications necessary to Preferment, every Man thus endowed, when put into great Stations, would readily imitate the Queen's Example, in the Distribution of all Offices in his Disposal; especially, if any apparent Transgression, through Favour or Partiality, would be imputed to him for a Misdemeanor, by which he must certainly forfeit his Favour and Station; and there being such great Numbers in Employment, scattered through every Town and Country in this Kingdom; if all these were exemplary in the Conduct of their Lives, Things would soon take a new Face, and Religion receive a mighty Encouragement: Nor would the publick Weal be less advanced, since of nine Offices in ten that are ill executed, the Defect is not in Capacity or Understanding, but in common Honesty. I know no Employment, for which Piety disqualifieth any Man; and if it did, I doubt, the Objection would not be very seasonably offered at present:

sent: Because it is perhaps too just a Reflection, that, in the Disposal of Places, the Question whether a Person be *fit* for what he is recommended to is generally the last that is thought on, or regarded.

I have often imagined, that something parallel to the Office of Censors antiently in *Rome* would be of mighty Use among us; and could be easily limited from running into any Exorbitances. The *Romans* understood Liberty, at least, as well as we; were as jealous of it, and upon every Occasion as bold Assertors: Yet, I do not remember to have read any great Complaints of the Abuses in that Office among them; but many admirable Effects of it are left upon Record. There are several pernicious Vices frequent and notorious among us, that escape or elude the Punishment of any Law we have yet invented, or have had no Law at all against them; such as Atheism, Drunkenness, Fraud, Avarice, and several others; which, by this Institution wisely regulated, might be much reformed. Suppose, for Instance, that itinerary Commissioners were appointed to inspect every where throughout the Kingdom, into the Conduct (at least) of Men in Office, with respect to their Morals and Religion, as well as their Abilities; to receive the Complaints and Informations that should be offered against them; and make
their

their Report here upon Oath, to the Court or the Ministry; who should reward or punish accordingly. I avoid entering into the Particulars of this or any other Scheme, which, coming from a private Hand, might be liable to many Defects, but would soon be digested by the Wisdom of the Nation: And, surely, six thousand Pounds a Year would not be ill laid out among as many Commissioners duly qualified; who in three Divisions should be personally obliged to take their yearly Circuits for that Purpose.

But this is beside my present Design, which was only to shew what Degree of Reformation is in the Power of the Queen, without the Interposition of the Legislature; and which her Majesty is without Question obliged in Conscience to endeavour by her Authority, as much as she doth by her Practice.

It will be easily granted, that the Example of this great Town hath a mighty Influence over the whole Kingdom; and it is as manifest, that the Town is equally influenced by the Court and the Ministry, and those, who, by their Employments or their Hopes, depend upon them. Now, if under so excellent a Princess, as the present Queen, we would suppose a Family strictly regulated, as I have above proposed; a Ministry, where every single Person was of distinguished

stinguished Piety; if we should suppose all great Offices of State and Law filled after the same Manner, and with such as were equally diligent in chusing Persons, who in their several Subordinations would be obliged to follow the Examples of their Superiors, under the Penalty of Loss of Favour and Place; will not every Body grant, that the Empire of Vice and Irreligion would be soon destroyed in this great Metropolis, and receive a terrible Blow through the whole Island, which hath so great an Intercourse with it, and so much affecteth to follow its Fashions.

For, if Religion were once understood to be the necessary Step to Favour and Preference, can it be imagined, that any Man would openly offend against it, who had the least Regard for his Reputation or his Fortune? There is no Quality so contrary to any Nature, which Men cannot affect, and put on upon Occasion, in order to serve an Interest, or gratify a prevailing Passion: The proudest Man will personate Humility, the morosest learn to flatter, the laziest will be sedulous and active, where he is in Pursuit of what he hath much at Heart: How ready therefore would most Men be to step into the Paths of Virtue and Piety, if they infallibly led to Favour and Fortune?

If

If Swearing and Prophaneness, scandalous and avowed Lewdness, excessive Gaming and Intemperance were a little discountenanced in the Army, I cannot readily see what ill Consequences could be apprehended: If Gentlemen of that Profession were at least obliged to some external Decorum in their Conduct; or even if a profligate Life and Character were not a Means of Advancement, and the Appearance of Piety a most infallible Hinderance; it is impossible the Corruptions there should be so universal and exorbitant. I have been assured by several great Officers, that no Troops Abroad are so ill disciplined as the *English*; which cannot well be otherwise, while the common Soldiers have perpetually before their Eyes the vicious Example of their Leaders: And it is hardly possible for those to commit any Crime, whereof these are not infinitely more guilty, and with less Temptation.

It is commonly charged upon the Gentlemen of the Army, that the beastly Vice of drinking to Excess hath been lately from their Example restored among us; which for some Years before was almost dropt in *England*. But, whoever the Introducers were, they have succeeded to a Miracle: many of the young Nobility and Gentry are already become great Proficients, and are under no Manner of Concern to hide their Talent;

Talent; but are got beyond all Sense of Shame, or Fear of Reproach.

This might soon be remedied, if the Queen would think fit to declare, that no young Person of Quality whatever, who was notoriously addicted to that or any other Vice, should be capable of her Favour, or even admitted into her Presence; with positive Command to her Ministers, and others in great Office, to treat them in the same Manner; after which, all Men, who had any Regard for their Reputation, or any Prospect of Preferment, would avoid their Commerce. This would quickly make that Vice so scandalous, that those, who could not subdue, would at least endeavour to disguise it.

By the like Methods, a Stop might be put to that ruinous Practice of deep Gaming: And the Reason why it prevaieth so much is, because a Treatment *directly opposite* in every Point is made Use of to promote it; by which Means the Laws enacted against this Abuse are wholly eluded.

It cannot be denied, that the Want of strict Discipline in the Universities, hath been of pernicious Consequence to the Youth of this Nation, who are there almost left entirely to their own Management; especially those among them of better Quality and Fortune; who, because they are not under a
Necessity

Necessity of making Learning their Maintenance, are easily allowed to pass their Time, and take their Degrees with little or no Improvement; than which there cannot well be a greater Absurdity. For, if no Advancement of Knowledge can be had from those Places, the Time there spent is at best utterly lost, because every ornamental Part of Education is better taught elsewhere: And as for keeping Youths out of Harm's Way, I doubt where so many of them are got together, at full Liberty of doing what they please, it will not answer the End. But, whatever Abuses, Corruptions, or Deviations from Statutes have crept into the Universities, through Neglect or Length of Time, they might in a great Degree be reformed by strict Injunctions from Court, (upon each Particular, to the Visitors and Heads of Houses;) besides the peculiar Authority the Queen may have in several Colleges, whereof her Predecessors were the Founders. And, among other Regulations, it would be very convenient to prevent the Excess of Drinking, with that scurvy Custom among the Lads, and Parent of the former Vice, the taking of Tobacco, where it is not absolutely necessary in Point of Health.

From the Universities, the young Nobility, and others of great Fortunes, are sent for early up to Town, for Fear of contract-
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ing any Airs of Pedantry by a College Education. Many of the younger Gentry retire to the Inns-of-Court, where they are wholly left to their own Discretion. And the Consequence of this Remissness in Education appeareth, by observing, that nine in ten of those, who rise in the Church or the Court, the Law or the Army, are younger Brothers, or new Men, whose narrow Fortunes have forced them upon Industry and Application.

As for the Inns-of-Court, unless we suppose them to be much degenerated, they must needs be the worst instituted Seminaries in any Christian Country; but whether they may be corrected without the Interposition of the Legislature, I have not Skill enough to determine. However, it is certain, that all wise Nations have agreed in the Necessity of a strict Education; which consisted, among other Things, in the Observance of moral Duties, especially Justice, Temperance, and Chastity, as well as the Knowledge of Arts, and bodily Exercises: But all these among us are laughed out of Doors.

Without the least Intention to offend the Clergy, I cannot but think, that, through a mistaken Notion and Practice, they prevent themselves from doing much Service, which otherwise might lie in their Power, to Religion and Virtue: I mean, by affecting so much to converse with each other, and
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caring so little to mingle with the Laity. They have their particular Clubs, and particular Coffee-houses, where they generally appear in Clusters: A single Divine dareth hardly shew his Person among Numbers of fine Gentlemen; or, if he happen to fall into such Company, he is silent and suspicious; in continual Apprehension, that some pert Man of Pleasure should break an unmannerly Jest, and render him ridiculous. Now I take this Behaviour of the Clergy to be just as reasonable, as if the Physicians should agree to spend their Time in visiting one another, or their several Apothecaries, and leave their Patients to shift for themselves. In my humble Opinion, the Clergy's Business lieth entirely among the Laity; neither is there, perhaps, a more effectual Way to forward the Salvation of Mens Souls, than for spiritual Persons to make themselves as agreeable as they can in the Conversations of the World; for which a learned Education gives them great Advantage, if they would please to improve and apply it. It so happens, that the *Men of Pleasure*, who never go to Church, nor amuse themselves to read Books of Devotion, form their Ideas of the Clergy from a few poor Strollers they often observe in the Streets, or sneaking out of some Person of Quality's House, where they are hired by the Lady at Ten Shillings a Month;

Month; while those of better Figure and Parts do seldom appear to correct these Notions. And, let some Reasoners think what they please, it is certain, that Men must be brought to esteem and love the Clergy, before they can be persuaded to be in love with Religion. No Man values the best Medicines; if administered by a Physician, whose Person he hateth or despiseth. If the Clergy were as forward to appear in all Companies, as other Gentlemen, and would a little study the Arts of Conversation, to make themselves agreeable, they might be welcome at every Party, where there was the least Regard for Politeness or good Sense; and consequently prevent a thousand vicious or prophane Discourses, as well as Actions: Neither would Men of Understanding complain, that a Clergyman was a Constraint upon the Company; because they could not speak Blasphemy or obscene Jest before him. While the People are so jealous of the Clergy's Ambition, as to abhor all Thoughts of the Return of Ecclesiastick Discipline among them; I do not see any other Method left for Men of that Function to take, in order to reform the World, than by using all honest Arts to make themselves acceptable to the Laity. This, no Doubt, is Part of that Wisdom of the Serpent, which the Author of Christianity directeth; and is

the very Method used by St. Paul, who became all Things to all Men, to the Jews a Jew, and a Greek to the Greeks.

How to remedy these Inconveniencies may be a Matter of some Difficulty; since the Clergy seem to be of an Opinion, that this Humour of sequestering themselves is a Part of their Duty; nay, as I remember, they have been told by some of their Bishops in their pastoral Letters, particularly by *one** among them; who yet, in his own Practice, hath, all his Life-time, taken a Course directly contrary. But I am deceived, if an awkward Shame and Fear of ill Usage from the Laity have not a greater Share in this mistaken Conduct, than their own Inclinations: However, if the outward Profession of Religion and Virtue were once in Practice and Countenance at Court, as well as among all Men in Office, or who have any Hopes or Dependence for Preferment; a good Treatment of the Clergy would be the necessary Consequence of such a Reformation; and they would soon be wise enough to see their own Duty and Interest in qualifying themselves for Lay-Conversation, when once they were out of Fear of being choqued by Ribaldry or Prophaneness.

There

* Supposed to be Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury.

There is one further Circumstance upon this Occasion, which I know not whether it will be very orthodox to mention: The Clergy are the only Set of Men among us, who constantly wear a distinct Habit from others: The Consequence of which (not in Reason, but in Fact) is this, that, as long as any scandalous Persons appear in that Dress, it will continue, in some Degree, a general Mark of Contempt. Whoever happeneth to see a *Scoundrel in a Gown*, reeling Home at Midnight, (a Sight neither *frequent* nor *miraculous*) is apt to entertain an ill Idea of the whole Order; and, at the same Time, to be extremely comforted in his own Vices. Some Remedy might be put to this, if those straggling Gentlemen, who come up to Town to *seek their Fortunes*, were fairly dismissed to the *West-Indies*; where there is Work enough, and where some better Provision should be made for them, than I doubt there is at present. Or, what if no Person were allowed to wear the Habit, who had not some Preferment in the Church; or, at least, some temporal Fortune sufficient to keep him out of Contempt?

There is one Abuse in this Town, which wonderfully contributeth to the Promotion of Vice; when such Men are often put into Commission of the Peace, whose Interest it is, that Virtue should be utterly banished

from among us; who maintain, or at least enrich themselves, by encouraging the grossest Immoralities; to whom all the *Bawds* of the *Ward* pay Contribution for Shelter and Protection from the Laws. Thus, these worthy Magistrates, instead of lessening Enormities, are the Occasion of just twice as much Debauchery as there would be without them. For those infamous Women are forced upon doubling their Work and Industry, to answer double Charges, of paying the Justice, and supporting themselves; like Thieves who escape the Gallows, and are let out to steal, in order to discharge the Goaler's Fees.

It is not to be questioned, but the Queen and Ministry might easily redress this abominable Grievance; by enlarging the Number of Justices of the Peace; by endeavouring to chuse Men of virtuous Principles; by admitting none, who have not considerable Fortunes; perhaps by receiving into the Number some of the most eminent Clergy: Then, by forcing all of them, upon severe Penalties, to act when there is Occasion; and not permitting any, who are offered, to refuse the Commission. But in these two last Cases, which are very material, I doubt there would be Need of the Legislature.

The Reformation of the Stage is entirely in the Power of the Queen; and in the
Conse-

Consequences it hath upon the Minds of younger People, doth very well deserve the strictest Care. Besides the undecent and prophane Passages; beside the perpetual turning into Ridicule the very Function of the Priesthood; with other Irregularities in most modern Comedies*, which have been often objected to them; it is worth observing the distributive Justice of the Authors, which is constantly applied to the Punishment of Virtue, and the Reward of Vice; directly opposite to the Rules of their best Criticks, as well as to the Practice of Dramatick Poets in all other Ages and Countries. For Example; a Country 'Squire, who is represented with no other Vice than that of being a Clown, and having the provincial Accent upon his Tongue, which is neither a Fault, nor in his Power to remedy, must be condemned to marry a cast Wench, or a cracked Chamber-Maid. On the other Side, a Rakehell of the Town, whose Character is set off with no other Accomplishments but extensive Prodigality, Prophaneness, Intemperance, and Lust, is rewarded with the Lady of great Fortune, to repair his own, which his Vices had almost ruined. And, as in a Tragedy, the Hero is represented to have obtained many Victories, in order to raise his Character in the Minds of the Spectators; so the Hero of a Comedy is represented

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* See *Wycherly's* and *Congreve's* Plays.

sented to have been victorious in all his Intrigues for the same Reason. I do not remember that our *English* Poets ever suffered a criminal Amour to succeed upon the Stage, until the Reign of King *Charles* the Second. Ever since that Time, the Alderman is made a Cuckold, the deluded Virgin is debauched; and Adultery and Fornication are supposed to be committed behind the Scenes, as Part of the Action. These and many more Corruptions of the Theatre, peculiar to our Age and Nation, need continue no longer than while the Court is content to connive at, or neglect them. Surely a Pension would not be ill employed on some Men of Wit, Learning, and Virtue, who might have Power to strike out every offensive, or unbecoming Passage from Plays already written, as well as those that may be offered to the Stage for the future. By which, and other wise Regulations, the Theatre might become a very Scandal and Reproach to our Religion and Country.

The Proposals I have hitherto made, for the Advancement of Religion and Morality, are such, as come within the Reach of the Administration; such as a pious and active Prince, with a steady Resolution, might soon bring to Effect. Neither am I aware of any Objections to be raised against what I have advanced; unless it should be thought, that

that the making Religion a necessary Step to Interest and Favour might increase Hypocrisy among us: And I readily believe it would. But, if One in Twenty should be brought over to true Piety by this, or the like Methods, and the other Nineteen be only Hypocrites, the Advantages would still be great. Besides, Hypocrisy is much more eligible than open Infidelity and Vice: It wears the Livery of Religion, it acknowledgeth her Authority, and is cautious of giving Scandal. Nay, a long continued Disguise is too great a Constraint upon human Nature, especially an *English* Disposition. Men would leave off their Vices out of meer Weariness, rather than undergo the Toil, and Hazard, and perhaps Expence of practising them perpetually in private. And, I believe, it is often with Religion as it is with Love; which, by much dissembling, at last groweth real.

All other Projects to this great End have proved hitherto ineffectual. Laws against Immorality have not been executed; and Proclamations, occasionally issued out to enforce them, are wholly unregarded as Things of Form. Religious Societies, although begun with excellent Intention, and by Persons of true Piety, are said, I know not whether truly or no, to have dwindled into factious Clubs, and grown a Trade to enrich

little knavish Informers of the meanest Rank, such as common Constables and broken Shopkeepers.

And that some effectual Attempt should be made towards such a Reformation is perhaps more necessary, than People commonly apprehend; because the Ruin of a State is generally preceded by an universal Degeneracy of Manners, and Contempt of Religion; which is entirely our Case at present,

Diis te minorem quod geris, imperas.

Neither is this a Matter to be deferred until a more convenient Time of Peace and Leisure: A Reformation in Mens Faith and Morals is the best natural, as well as religious Means to bring the War to a good Conclusion. Because, if Men in Trust performed their Duty for Conscience Sake, Affairs would not suffer through Fraud, Falshood, and Neglect, as they now perpetually do: And if they believe a God and his Providence, and acted accordingly, they might reasonably hope for his divine Assistance in so just a Cause as ours.

Nor could the Majesty of the *English* Crown appear, upon any Occasion, in greater Lustre, either to Foreigners, or Subjects, than by an Administration, which, producing such good Effects, would discover so
much

much Power. And Power being the natural Appetite of Princes, a limited Monarch cannot so well gratify it in any Point, as a strict Execution of the Laws.

Besides; all Parties would be obliged to close with so good a Work as this for their own Reputation: Neither is any Expedient more likely to unite them. For the most violent Party-men, I have ever observed, are such as in the Conduct of their Lives have discovered least Sense of Religion, or Morality; and when all such are laid aside, at least those among them who shall be found incorrigible, it will be a Matter, perhaps, of no great Difficulty to reconcile the rest.

The many Corruptions, at present, in every Branch of Business, are almost inconceivable. I have heard it computed by skilful Persons, that of Six Millions, raised every Year for the Service of the Publick, one Third, at least, is sunk and intercepted through the several Classes and Subordinations of artful Men in Office, before the Remainder is applied to the proper Use. This is an accidental ill Effect of our Freedom: And while such Men are in Trust, who have no Check from within, nor any Views but towards their Interest; there is no other Fence against them, but the Certainty of being hanged upon the first Discovery, by the arbitrary Will of an unlimited

mitted Monarch, or his *Vizier*. Among us, the only Danger to be apprehended is the Loss of an Employment; and that Danger is to be eluded a thousand Ways. Besides, when Fraud is great, it furnisheth Weapons to defend itself; And, at worst, if the Crimes be so flagrant, that a Man is laid aside out of perfect Shame, (which rarely happeneth) he retireth loaded with the Spoils of the Nation; *Et fruitur diis iratis*. I could name a Commission, where several Persons out of a Salary of Five Hundred Pounds, without other visible Revenues, have always lived at the Rate of Two Thousand, and laid out Forty or Fifty Thousand upon Purchases of Land or Annuities. An Hundred other Instances of the same Kind might easily be produced. What Remedy, therefore, can be found against such Grievances in a Constitution like ours, but to bring Religion into Countenance, and encourage those, who, from the Hope of future Reward, and Dread of future Punishment, will be moved to act with Justice and Integrity?

This is not to be accomplished any other Way than by introducing Religion, as much as possible, to be the Turn and Fashion of the Age; which only lieth in the Power of the Administration; the Prince with utmost Strictness regulating the Court, the Ministry, and other Persons in great Employment; and these,

these, by their Example and Authority, reforming all who have Dependence on them.

It is certain, that a Reformation, successfully carried on in this great Town, would, in Time, spread itself over the whole Kingdom; since most of the considerable Youth passeth here that Season of their Lives, wherein the strongest Impressions are made, in order to improve their Education, or advance their Fortune: And those among them, who return into their several Countries, are sure to be followed and imitated, as the greatest Patterns of Wit and good Breeding.

And if Things were once in this Train; that is, if Virtue and Religion were established as the necessary Titles to Reputation and Preferment; and if Vice and Infidelity were not only loaden with Infamy, but made the infallible Ruin of all Mens Pretensions; our Duty, by becoming our Interest, would take Root in our Natures, and mix with the very Genius of our People; so that it would not be easy for the Example of one wicked Prince to bring us back to our former Corruptions.

I have confined myself (as it is before observed) to those Methods for the Advancement of Piety, which are in the Power of a Prince limited like ours, by a strict Execution of the Laws already in Force. And this is enough for a Project that cometh with-

without any Name or Recommendation: I doubt, a great deal more than will suddenly be reduced into Practice. Although, if any Disposition should appear towards so good a Work, it is certain, that the Assistance of the legislative Power would be necessary to make it more compleat. I will instance only in a few Particulars.

In order to reform the Vices of this Town, which, as we have said, hath so mighty an Influence on the whole Kingdom; it would be very instrumental to have a Law made, that all Taverns, or Alehouses, should be obliged to dismiss their Company by Twelve at Night, and shut up their Doors; and that no Woman should be suffered to enter any Tavern or Alehouse upon any Pretence whatever. It is easy to conceive, what a Number of ill Consequences such a Law would prevent; the Mischiefs of Quarrels, and Lewdness, and Thefts, and midnight Brawls, the Diseases of Intemperance and Venery; and a thousand other Evils needless to mention. Nor would it be amiss, if the Masters of those publick Houses were obliged, upon the severest Penalties, to give only a proportioned Quantity of Drink to every Company; and when he found his Guests disordered with Excess, to refuse them any more.

I believe

I believe there is hardly a Nation in *Christianity*, where all Kind of Fraud is practised in so unmeasurable a Degree as with us. The Lawyer, the Tradesman, the Mechanick, have found so many Arts to deceive in their several Callings, that they far outgrow the common Prudence of Mankind, which is in no Sort able to fence against them. Neither could the Legislature, in any Thing, more consult the public Good, than by providing some effectual Remedy against this Evil; which, in several Cases, deserveth greater Punishment than many Crimes that are capital among us. The Vintner, who, by mixing Poison with his Wines, destroyeth more Lives than any malignant Disease: The Lawyer, who persuadeth you to a Purchase, which he knoweth is mortgaged for more than the Worth, to the Ruin of you and your Family: The Banquier or Scrivener, who taketh all your Fortune to dispose of, when he hath beforehand resolved to break the following Day; doth surely deserve the Gallows much better than the Wretch, who is carried thither for stealing a Horse.

It cannot easily be answered to God or Man, why a Law is not made for limiting the Press; at least so far as to prevent the publishing of such pernicious Books, as, under Pretence of *Free-Thinking*, endeavour to overthrow those Tenets in Religion, which
have

have been held inviolable, almost in all Ages, by every Sect that pretendeth to be Christian; and cannot therefore with any Colour of Reason be called *Points in Controversy*, or *Matters of Speculation*, as some would pretend. The Doctrine of the *Trinity*, the *Divinity of Christ*, the *Immortality of the Soul*, and even the Truth of all Revelation, are daily exploded and denied in Books openly printed; although it is to be supposed, that neither Party avow such Principles, or own the supporting of them to be any Way necessary to their Service.

It would be endless to set down every Corruption or Defect, which requireth a Remedy from the legislative Power. Senates are like to have little Regard for any Proposals that come from *without Doors*: Although, under a due Sense of my own Inabilities, I am fully convinced that the unbiassed Thoughts of an honest and wise Man, employed on the Good of his Country, may be better digested, than the Results of a Multitude, where Faction and Interest too often prevail: As a single Guide may direct the Way better than Five Hundred, who *have contrary Views*, or *look askint*, or *shut their Eyes*.

I shall mention but one more Particular, which I think a Parliament ought to take under Consideration: Whether it be not a
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Shame to our Country, and a Scandal to Christianity, that in many Towns, where there is a prodigious Increase in the Number of Houses and Inhabitants, so little Care should be taken for the Building of Churches, that Five Parts in Six of the People are absolutely hindered from hearing Divine Service? Particularly here in *London**, where a single Minister, with one or two sorry Curates, has the Care sometimes of above Twenty Thousand Souls incumbent on him. A Neglect of Religion so ignominious, in my Opinion, that it can hardly be equalled in any civilized Age or Country.

But to leave these airy Imaginations of introducing new Laws for the Amendment of Mankind: What I principally insist on is the due Execution of the old, which lieth wholly in the Crown, and in the Authority derived from thence: I return therefore to my former Assertion; that, if Stations of Power, Trust, Profit, and Honour, were constantly made the Rewards of Virtue and Piety, such an Administration must needs have a mighty Influence on the Faith and Morals of the whole Kingdom: And
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* This Paragraph is known to have given the first Hint to certain Bishops, particularly to that most excellent Prelate Bishop *Atterbury*, in the Earl of *Oxford's* Ministry, to procure a Fund for building Fifty new Churches in *London*.

Men of great Abilities would *then* endeavour to excel in the Duties of a religious Life, in order to qualify themselves for publick Service. I may possibly be wrong in some of the Means I prescribe towards this End; but that is no material Objection against the Design itself. Let those, who are at the Helm, contrive it better, which perhaps they may easily do. Every Body will agree, that the Disease is manifest, as well as dangerous; that some Remedy is necessary, and that none yet applied hath been effectual; which is a sufficient Excuse for any Man, who wisheth well to his Country, to offer his Thoughts, when he can have no other End in View but the publick Good. The present QUEEN is a Prince of as many and great Virtues as ever filled a Throne: How would it brighten her Character to the present and after Ages, if She would exert her utmost Authority to instil some Share of those Virtues into her People, which they are too degenerate to learn only from her Example. And, be it spoke with all the Veneration possible for so excellent a Sovereign, Her best Endeavours in this weighty Affair are a most important Part of her Duty, as well as of her Interest, and her Honour.

But, it must be confessed, That as Things are now, every Man thinketh, he hath laid
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in a sufficient Stock of Merit, and may pretend to any Employment, provided he hath been loud and frequent in declaring himself hearty for the Government. It is true, he is a *Man of Pleasure*, and a *Free-Thinker*; that is, in other Words, he is a Profligate in his Morals, and a Despiser of Religion; but in Point of Party he is one to be *confided* in; he is an Assertor of Liberty and Property; he rattleth it out against *Popery*, and *Arbitrary Power*, and *Priest-Craft*, and *High-Church*. It is enough: He is a Person fully qualified for any Employment in the Court or the Navy, the Law or the Revenue; where he will be sure to leave no Arts untried of Bribery, Fraud, Injustice, or Oppression, that he can practise with any Hope of Impunity: No Wonder such Men are true to a Government, where Liberty runneth high, where Property, *however attained*, is so well secured, and where the Administration is at least so gentle: It is impossible they could chuse any other Constitution, without changing to their Loss.

Fidelity to a present Establishment is, indeed, one principal Means to defend it from a foreign Enemy; but, without other Qualifications, will not prevent Corruptions from within: And States are more often ruined by these than the other.

To conclude: Whether the Proposals I have offered towards a Reformation be such as are most prudent and convenient, may probably be a Question; but it is none at all, whether *some* Reformation be absolutely necessary; because the Nature of Things is such, that if Abuses be not remedied, they will certainly increase, nor ever stop until they end in the Subversion of a Commonwealth. As there must always of Necessity be some Corruptions; so in a well instituted State the executive Power will be always contending against them, by *reducing Things* (as *Machiavel* speaks) *to their first Principles*; never letting Abuses grow inveterate, or multiply so far, that it will be hard to find Remedies, and, perhaps, impossible to apply them: As he that would keep his House in Repair must attend every little Breach or Flaw, and supply it immediately, else Time alone will bring all to Ruin, how much more the common Accidents of Storms and Rain? He must live in perpetual Danger of his House falling about his Ears; and will find it cheaper to throw it quite down, and build it again from the Ground, perhaps upon a new Foundation, or at least in a new Form, which may neither be so safe, nor so convenient as the old.

A
Tritical E S S A Y
UPON THE
FACULTIES of the MIND.

To ———.

S I R,

BEING so great a Lover of Antiquities, it was reasonable to suppose you would be very much obliged with any Thing that was new. I have been of late offended with many Writers of Essays and moral Discourses, for running into stale Topicks and thread-bare Quotations, and not handling their Subject fully and closely: All

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which

which Errors I have carefully avoided in the following Essay, which I have proposed as a Pattern for young Writers to imitate. The Thoughts and Observations being entirely new, the Quotations untouched by others, the Subject of mighty Importance, and treated with much Order and Perspicuity: It hath cost me a great deal of Time; and I desire you will accept and consider it as the utmost Effort of my Genius.

Philosophers say, that Man is a Microcosm, or little World, resembling in Minia-
 ture every Part of the Great: And, in my Opinion, the Body Natural may be compared to the Body Politick: And if this be so, how can the *Epicureans* Opinion be true, that the Universe was formed by a fortuitous Concourse of Atoms; which I will no more believe, than that the accidental Jumbling of the Letters in the Alphabet could fall by Chance into a most ingenious and learned Treatise of Philosophy. *Risum teneatis Amici?* HOR. This false Opinion must needs create many more; it is like an Error in the first Concoction, which cannot be corrected in the second; the Foundation is weak, and whatever Superstructure you raise upon it must of Necessity fall to the Ground. Thus, Men are led from one Error to another, until with *Ixion* they embrace a Cloud
 instead

stead of *Juno*; or, like the Dog in the Fable, lose the Substance in gaping at the Shadow. For such Opinions cannot cohere; but, like the Iron and Clay in the Toes of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Image, must separate and break in Pieces. I have read in a certain Author, that *Alexander* wept because he had no more Worlds to conquer; which he need not have done, if the fortuitous Concourse of Atoms could create one: But this is an Opinion fitter for that many-headed Beast, the Vulgar, to entertain, than for so wise a Man as *Epicurus*; the corrupt Part of his Sect only borrowed his Name, as the Monkey did the Cat's Claw to draw the Chestnut out of the Fire.

However, the first Step to the Cure is to know the Disease; and although Truth may be difficult to find, because, as the Philosopher observeth, she liveth in the Bottom of a Well; yet we need not, like blind Men, grope in open Day-light. I hope I may be allowed, among so many far more learned Men, to offer my Mite, since a Stander-by may sometimes, perhaps, see more of the Game than he that playeth it. But I do not think a Philosopher obliged to account for every Phænomenon in Nature, or drown himself with *Aristotle*, for not being able to solve the Ebbing and Flowing of the Tide,

in that fatal Sentence he passed upon himself,
Quia te non capia, tu capies me.

Wherein he was at once the Judge and the Criminal, the Accuser and Executioner. *Socrates*, on the other Hand, who said he knew nothing, was pronouced by the Oracle to be the wisest Man in the World.

But to return from this Digression; I think it as clear as any Demonstration in *Euclid*, that Nature doth nothing in vain; if we were able to dive into her secret Recesses, we should find that the smallest Blade of Grass, or most contemptible Weed, hath its particular Use; but she is chiefly admirable in her minutest Compositions, the least and most contemptible Insect most discovers the Art of Nature, if I may so call it; although Nature, which delighteth in Variety, will always triumph over Art. And, as the Poet observeth,

Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurret.

HOR.

But the various Opinions of Philosophers have scattered through the World as many Plagues of the Mind, as *Pandora's* Box did those of the Body, only with this Difference, that they have not left Hope at the Bottom. And if Truth be not fled with

Astraea,

Astræa, she is certainly as hidden as the Source of the *Nile*, and can be found only in *Utopia*. Not that I would reflect on those wise Sages, which would be a Sort of Ingratitude; and he that calleth a Man ungrateful, sums up all the Evil that a Man can be guilty of.

Ingratum si dixeris, omnia dicis.

But, what I blame the Philosophers for, (although some may think it a Paradox) is chiefly their Pride; nothing less than an *ipse dixit*, and you must pin your Faith on their Sleeve. And, although *Diogenes* lived in a Tub, there might be, for aught I know, as much Pride under his Rags, as in the fine-spun Garment of the Divine *Plato*. It is reported of this *Diogenes*, that when *Alexander* came to see him, and promised to give him whatever he would ask; the *Cynick* only answered, *Take not from me what thou canst not give me; but stand from between me and the Light*, which was almost as extravagant as the Philosopher that flung his Money into the Sea, with this remarkable Saying, - - - - -

How different was this Man from the Usurer, who, being told his Son would spend all he had got, replied, *He cannot take more Pleasure in spending, than I did in*

getting it. These Men could see the Faults of each other, but not their own; those they flung into the Bag behind; *Non videmus id manticae quod a tergo est.* I may, perhaps, be censured for my free Opinions, by those carping *Momuses*, whom Authors worship, as the Indians do the Devil, for Fear. They will endeavour to give my Reputation as many Wounds as the Man in the Almanack; but I value it not, and, perhaps, like Flies, they may buz so often about the Candle, until they burn their Wings. They must pardon me, if I venture to give them this Advice, not to rail at what they cannot understand; it doth but discover that self-tormenting Passion of Envy; than which the greatest Tyrant never inventea more cruel Torment.

*Invidia Siculi non invenere Tyranni
Tormentum majus*———

JUVEN.

I must be so bold to tell my Criticks and Witlings, that they are no more Judges of this, than a Man that is born blind can have any true Idea of Colour,. I have always observed that your empty Vessels sound loudest: I value their Lashes as little as the Sea did when *Xerxes* whipped it. The utmost Favour a Man can expect from them is, that which *Polyphemus* promised *Ulysses*,
that

that he would devour him the last: They think to subdue a Writer, as *Cæsar* did his Enemy, with a *Veni vidi vici*. I confess, I value the Opinion of the judicious Few, a *Rimer*, a *Dennis*, or a *Warwick*; but, for the rest, to give my Judgment at once; I think the long Dispute among the Philosophers about a *Vacuum*, may be determined in the Affirmative, that it is to be found in a Critick's Head. They are, at best, but the Drones of the learned World, who devour the Honey, and will not work themselves; and a Writer need not more regard them, than the Moon does the barking of a little senseless Cur: For, in spite of their terrible Roaring, you may with Half an Eye discover the *Ass* under the *Lion's* Skin.

But to return to our Discourse: *Demosthenes* being asked, what was the first Part of an Orator, replied, *Action*: What was the Second, *Action*: What was the Third, *Action*: And so on *ad infinitum*. This may be true in Oratory; but Contemplation, in other Things, exceedeth Action. And, therefore, a wise Man is never less alone, than when he is alone.

Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus.

And *Archimedes*, the famous Mathematician, was so intent upon his Problems, that
- he

he never minded the Soldier who came to kill him. Therefore, not to detract from the just Praise which belongeth to Orators, they ought to consider that Nature, which gave us two Eyes to see, and two Ears to hear, hath given us but one Tongue to speak; wherein, however, some do so abound, that the *Virtuosi*, who have been so long in Search for the perpetual Motion, may infallibly find it there.

Some Men admire Republicks; because Orators flourish there most, and are the great Enemies of Tyranny: But my Opinion is, that one Tyrant is better than an Hundred. Besides, these Orators inflame the People, whose Anger is really but a short Fit of Madness.

Ira furor brevis est. —

HOR.

After which, Laws are like Cobwebs, which may catch small Flies, but let Wasps and Hornets break through. But, in Oratory, the greatest Art is to hide Art.

Artis est celare Artem.

But this must be the Work of Time; we must lay hold on all Opportunities, and let slip no Occasion, else we shall be forced to weave *Penelope's* Webb; unravel in the Night

Night what we spun in the Day. And, therefore, I have observed that Time is painted with a Lock before, and bald behind; signifying thereby, that we must take Time (as we say) by the Forelock; for when it is once past, there is no recalling it.

The Mind of Man is, at first, (if you will pardon the Expression) like a *Tabula rasa*; or like Wax, which, while it is soft, is capable of any Impression, until Time hath hardened it. And at length Death, that grim Tyrant, stoppeth us in the Midst of our Career. The greatest Conquerors have at last been conquered by Death, which spareth none from the Sceptre to the Spade.

Mors omnibus communis.

All Rivers go to the Sea, but none return from it. *Xerxes* wept, when he beheld his Army, to consider that in less than an hundred Years they would be all dead. *Anacreon* was choaked with a Grape-stone; and violent Joy killeth as well as violent Grief. There is nothing in this World constant, but Inconstancy; yet *Plato* thought, that if Virtue would appear to the World in her own native Dress, all Men would be enamoured with her. But now, since Interest governs the World, and Men neglect the golden Mean, *Jupiter* himself, if he came on the Earth,

Earth, would be despised, unless it were, as he did to *Danae*, in a golden Shower. For Men, now a-days, worship the rising Sun, and not the setting.

Donec eris fœlix, multos numerabis amicos.

Thus have I, in Obedience to your Commands, ventured to expose myself to Censure in this critical Age. Whether I have done Right to my Subject, must be left to the Judgment of the learned Reader: However, I cannot but hope, that my attempting of it may be an Encouragement for some able Pen to perform it with more Success,

We

We have added out of the Preface to the Fourth Volume of TATLERS, what is there said of the Author.

“ IN the last TATLER, I promised some
 “ Explanations out of Passages and Per-
 “ sons mentioned in this Work, as well as
 “ some Account of the Assistances I have
 “ had in the Performance. I shall do this in
 “ very few Words; for when a Man hath
 “ no Design but to speak plain Truth, he
 “ may say a great deal in a very narrow
 “ Compass. I have, in the Dedication of
 “ the first Volume, made my Acknowledg-
 “ ments to Dr. SWIFT, whose pleasant
 “ Writings, in the Name of *Bickerstaff*,
 “ created an Inclination in the Town to-
 “ wards any Thing that could appear in the
 “ same Disguise. I must acknowledge also,
 “ that, at my first entering upon this Work,
 “ a certain uncommon Way of Thinking,
 “ and a Turn in Conversation peculiar to
 “ that agreeable Gentleman, rendered his
 “ Company very advantageous to one, whose
 “ Imagination was to be continually em-
 “ ployed upon obvious and common Sub-
 “ jects, although at the same Time obliged
 “ to treat of them in a new and unbeaten
 “ Method. His Verses on the *Shower in*
 “ *Town*, and the *Description of the Morning*,
 “ are Instances of the Happiness of that
 “ Genius,

“ Genius, which could raise such pleasing
“ Ideas upon Occasions so barren to an or-
“ dinary Invention.”

It is well known, that the Author writ several *Tatlers*, and some *Spectators*; and furnished Hints for many more, particularly, *The Tables of Fame, The Life and Adventures of a Shilling, The Account of ENGLAND by an Indian King*, and some others. But, as we are informed, he would never tell his best Friends the particular Papers.

N. B. The two following TATLERS are not in the Volumes published by Sir *Richard Steele*.

T H E

THE
T A T T L E R.

N U M B E R V.

SATURDAY, *January 27, 1710.*

----- *Laceratque, trahitque*
Molle pecus. -----

VIRG.

AMONGST other Severities I have met with from some Criticks, the cruellest for an old Man is, that they will not let me be at Quiet in my Bed, but pursue me to my very Dreams. I must not dream but when they please, nor upon long continued Subjects, however visionary in their own Nature; because there is a manifest Moral quite through them, which to produce as a Dream is improbable and unnatural.

natural. The Pain I might have had from this Objection is prevented by considering they have missed another, against which I should have been at a Loss to defend myself. They might have asked me, whether the Dreams I publish can properly be called *Lucubrations*, which is the Name I have given to all my Papers, whether in Volumes or Half-sheets: So manifest a Contradiction *in Terminis*, that I wonder no Sophister ever thought of it: But the other is a Cavil. I remember when I was a Boy at School, I have often dreamed out the whole Passages of a Day; that I rode a Journey, baited, supped, went to Bed, and rose the next Morning: And I have known young Ladies who could dream a whole Contexture of Adventures in one Night, large enough to make a Novel. In Youth the Imagination is strong, not mixed with Cares, nor tinged with those Passions that most disturb and confound it; such as Avarice, Ambition, and many others. Now, as old Men are said to grow Children again, so, in this Article of Dreaming, I am returned to my Childhood. My Imagination is at full Ease, without Care, Avarice, or Ambition, to clog it; by which, among many others, I have this Advantage of doubling the small Remainder of my Time, and living four and twenty Hours in the Day. However, the Dream I am now going to

to relate, is as wild as can well be imagined, and adapted to please these Refiners upon Sleep, without any Moral that I can discover.

‘ It happened that my Maid left on the
 ‘ Table in my Bed-Chamber, one of her
 ‘ Story-Books, (as she calls them) which I
 ‘ took up, and found full of strange Impertinence, fitted to her Taste and Condition; of poor Servants who came to be
 ‘ Ladies, and *Serving-Men of low Degree*,
 ‘ who married Kings Daughters. Among
 ‘ other Things, I met this sage Observation :
 ‘ That a Lion would never hurt a true Virgin. With this Medley of Nonsense in
 ‘ my Fancy, I went to Bed, and dreamed
 ‘ that a Friend waked me in the Morning,
 ‘ and proposed for Pastime to spend a few
 ‘ Hours in seeing the Parish-Lions, which
 ‘ he had not done since he came to Town;
 ‘ and because they shewed but once a Week
 ‘ he would not miss the Opportunity. I
 ‘ said I would humour him; although, to
 ‘ speak the Truth, I was not fond of those
 ‘ cruel Spectacles; and if it were not so ancient a Custom, founded, as I had heard,
 ‘ upon the wisest Maxims, I should be apt to
 ‘ censure the Inhumanity of those who introduced it. All this will be a Riddle to
 ‘ the waking Reader, until I discover the
 ‘ Scene my Imagination had formed upon

‘ the Maxim, That a Lion would never
‘ hurt a true Virgin. I dreamed, that, by a
‘ Law of immemorial Time, a He-Lion
‘ was kept in every Parish at the common
‘ Charge, and in a Place provided, adjoining
‘ to the Church-yard: That, before any one
‘ of the Fair Sex was married, if she affirm-
‘ ed herself to be a Virgin, she must on her
‘ Wedding Day, and in her Wedding
‘ Cloaths, perform the Ceremony of going
‘ alone into the Den, and staying an Hour
‘ with the Lion let loose, and kept fasting
‘ four and twenty Hours on Purpose. At a
‘ proper Height, above the Den, were con-
‘ venient Galleries for the Relations and
‘ Friends of the young Couple, and open to
‘ all Spectators. No Maiden was forced to
‘ offer herself to the Lion; but if she re-
‘ fused, it was a Disgrace to marry her, and
‘ every one might have Liberty of calling her
‘ a Whore. And methought it was as
‘ usual a Diversion to see the Parish-Lions,
‘ as with us to go to a Play or an Opera.
‘ And it was reckoned convenient to be near
‘ the Church, either for marrying the Vir-
‘ gin, if she escaped the Trial, or for burying
‘ her Bones when the Lion had devoured
‘ the rest, as he constantly did.’

To go on therefore with the Dream: ‘ We
‘ called first (as I remember) to see St. *Dun-*
‘ *stan*’s Lion, but we were told they did not
‘ shew

‘ shew To-day: From thence we went to
‘ that of *Covent-Garden*, which to my great
‘ Surprize we found as lean as a Skeleton,
‘ when I expected quite the contrary; but
‘ the Keeper said, it was no Wonder at all,
‘ because the poor Beast had not got an Ounce
‘ of Woman’s Flesh since he came into the
‘ Parish. This amazed me more than the
‘ other, and I was forming to myself a
‘ mighty Veneration for the Ladies in that
‘ Quarter of the Town; when the Keeper
‘ went on and said, he wondered that the
‘ Parish would be at the Charge of maintain-
‘ ing a Lion for nothing. Friend, said I, do
‘ you call it nothing to justify the Virtue of
‘ so many Ladies, or hath your Lion lost
‘ his distinguishing Faculty? Can there be
‘ any Thing more for the Honour of your
‘ Parish, than that all the Ladies married in
‘ your Church were pure Virgins? That is
‘ true, said he, and the Doctor knoweth it
‘ to his Sorrow; for there hath not been a
‘ Couple married in our Church since his
‘ Worship came amongst us. The Virgins
‘ hereabouts are too wise to venture the
‘ Claws of the Lion; and, because no Body
‘ will marry them, have all entered into
‘ Vows of Virginity. So that in Proportion
‘ we have much the largest Nunnery in the
‘ whole Town. This Manner of Ladies
‘ entering into a Vow of *Virginity*, because
‘ they

‘ they were not Virgins, I easily conceived ;
‘ and my Dream told me, that the whole
‘ Kingdom was full of Nunneries, plenti-
‘ fully stocked from the same Reason.

‘ We went to see another Lion, where we
‘ found much Company met in the Gallery :
‘ The Keeper told us, we should see *Sport*
‘ enough, as he called it; and in a little Time,
‘ we saw a young beautiful Lady put into
‘ the Den, who walked up towards the
‘ Lion with all imaginable Security in her
‘ Countenance, and looked smiling upon her
‘ Lover and Friends in the Gallery; which
‘ I thought nothing extraordinary, because
‘ it was never known that any Lion had been
‘ mistaken. But, however, we were all
‘ disappointed; for the Lion lifted up his
‘ right Paw, which was the fatal Sign, and
‘ advancing forward, seized her by the Arm,
‘ and began to tear it: The poor Lady gave
‘ a terrible Shriek, and cried out, *The Lion*
‘ *is just, I am no true Virgin ! Oh, Sappho,*
‘ *Sappho.* She could say no more ; for the
‘ Lion gave her the *Coup de Grace*, by a
‘ Squeeze in the Throat, and she expired at
‘ his Feet. The Keeper dragged away her
‘ Body to feed the Animal after the Company
‘ should be gone ; for the Parish-Lions ne-
‘ ver used to eat in publick. After a little
‘ Pause, another Lady came on towards the
‘ Lion in the same Manner as the former :
‘ We

' We observed the Beast smell her with
 ' great Diligence; he scratched both her
 ' Hands with lifting them to his Nose, and
 ' laying one of his Claws on her Bosom,
 ' drew Blood: However he let her go, and
 ' at the same Time turned from her with a
 ' Sort of Contempt, at which she was not a
 ' little mortified, and retired with some Con-
 ' fusion to her Friends in the Gallery. Me-
 ' thought the whole Company immediately
 ' understood the Meaning of this; that the
 ' Easiness of the Lady had suffered her to
 ' admit certain imprudent and dangerous
 ' Familiarities, bordering too much upon what
 ' is criminal; neither was it sure whether
 ' the Lover then present had not some Sha-
 ' rers with him in those Freedoms, of which
 ' a Lady can never be too sparing.

' This happened to be an extraordinary
 ' Day; for a third Lady came into the Den,
 ' laughing loud, playing with her Fan, toss-
 ' ing her Head, and smiling round on the
 ' young Fellows in the Gallery. However,
 ' the Lion leaped on her with great Fury,
 ' and we gave her for gone; but on a
 ' sudden he let go his Hold, turned from her
 ' as if he was nauseated, and then he gave her
 ' a Lash with his Tail; after which she re-
 ' turned to the Gallery, not the least out of
 ' Countenance; and this it seemeth, was the
 ' usual Treatment of Coquets.

‘ I thought we had now seen enough; but
‘ my Friend would needs have us go and vi-
‘ sit one or two Lions in the City. We call-
‘ ed at two or three Dens where they hap-
‘ pened not to shew; but we generally
‘ found half a Score young Girls, between
‘ Eight and Eleven Years old, playing with
‘ each Lion, sitting on his Back, and put-
‘ ting their Hands into his Mouth; some of
‘ them would now and then get a Scratch,
‘ but we always discovered, upon examining,
‘ that they had been hoydening with the
‘ young Apprentices. One of them was
‘ calling to a pretty Girl about twelve Years
‘ old, who stood by us in the Gallery, to
‘ come down to the Lion, and upon her Re-
‘ fusal, said, *Miss Betty, we could never get*
‘ *you to come near the Lion, since you played at*
‘ *Hoope and Hide with my Brother in the*
‘ *Garret.*

‘ We followed a Couple, with the Wed-
‘ ding-Folks, going to the Church of St.
‘ *Mary Ax.* The Lady, although well
‘ stricken in Years, extremely crooked and
‘ deformed, was dressed out beyond the
‘ Gaiety of Fifteen; having jumbled to-
‘ gether, as I imagined, all the tawdry Re-
‘ mains of Aunts, Godmothers, and Grand-
‘ mothers, for some Generations past: One
‘ of the Neighbours whispered me, that she
‘ was

‘ was an old Maid, and the clearest Reputa-
 ‘ tion of any in the Parish. There is no-
 ‘ thing strange in that, thought I, but was
 ‘ very much surprized, when I observed af-
 ‘ terwards that she went towards the Lion
 ‘ with Distrust and Concern. The Beast
 ‘ was lying down ; but upon Sight of her,
 ‘ snuffed up his Nose two or three Times,
 ‘ and then giving the Sign of Death, pro-
 ‘ ceeded instantly to Execution. In the
 ‘ Midst of her Agonies, she was heard to
 ‘ name the Words, *Italy* and *Artifices*, with
 ‘ the utmost Horror, and several repeated
 ‘ Execrations. And at last concluded, *Fool*
 ‘ *that I was, to put so much Confidence in the*
 ‘ *Toughness of my Skin.*

‘ The Keeper immediately set all in Or-
 ‘ der again for another Customer, which
 ‘ happened to be a famous Prude, whom
 ‘ her Parents after long Threatenings, and
 ‘ much Persuasion, had with the extremest
 ‘ Difficulty prevailed on to accept a young
 ‘ handsome Goldsmith, who might have
 ‘ pretended to five Times her Fortune. The
 ‘ Fathers and Mothers in the Neighbour-
 ‘ hood used to quote her for an Example to
 ‘ their Daughters. Her Elbows were rivet-
 ‘ ed to her Sides ; and her whole Person so
 ‘ ordered as to inform every Body that she
 ‘ was afraid they should touch her. She

‘ only dreaded to approach the Lion, be-
‘ cause it was a He one, and abhorred to
‘ think a Male Animal should presume to
‘ breathe upon her. The Sight of a Man
‘ at twenty Yards Distance made her draw
‘ back her Head. She always sat upon the
‘ farther Corner of the Chair, although
‘ there were six Chairs between her and her
‘ Lover, and with the Door wide open, and
‘ her little Sister in the Room. She was
‘ never saluted but at the Tip of her Ear;
‘ and her Father had much ado to make her
‘ dine without her Gloves, when there was
‘ a Man at Table. She entered the Den
‘ with some Fear, which we took to pro-
‘ ceed from the Height of her Modesty,
‘ offended at the Sight of so many Men in
‘ the Gallery. The Lion beholding her at
‘ a Distance, immediately gave the deadly
‘ Sign; at which the poor Creature (me-
‘ thinks I see her still) miscarried in a Fright
‘ before us all. The Lion seemed to be as
‘ much surprized as we, and gave her Time
‘ to make her Confession; *That she was five*
‘ *Months gone, by the Foreman of her Father’s*
‘ *Shop; that this was her big Belly:* And
‘ when her Friends asked, why she would
‘ venture the Trial? She said, *her Nurse*
‘ *assured her, that a Lion would never hurt a*
‘ *Woman with Child.* Upon this I imme-
diately

diately awaked, and could not help wishing,
that the Deputy-Censors of my late Institu-
tion were indued with the same Instinct as
these Parish-Lions,

THE

THE
T A T L E R.

N U M B E R X X .

TUESDAY, *March 6, 1710.*

----*Ingenuas didicisse fideliter Artes*
Emollit Mores.----- OVID.

From my own Apartments in *Channel-row,*
March 5.

THOSE inferior Duties of Life which the *French* call *les petites Morales*, or the smaller Morals, are with us distinguished by the Name of Good Manners or Breeding. This I look upon, in the general Notion of it, to be a Sort of artificial good Sense,

Sense, adapted to the meanest Capacities; and introduced to make Mankind easy in their Commerce with each other. Low and little Understandings, without some Rules of this Kind, would be perpetually wandering into a thousand Indecencies and Irregularities in Behaviour; and in their ordinary Conversation fall into the same boisterous Familiarities that one observeth among them, when a Debauch hath quite taken away the Use of their Reason. In other Instances, it is odd to consider, that for want of common Discretion, the very End of good Breeding is wholly perverted; and Civility, intended to make us easy, is employed in laying Chains and Fetters upon us, in debarring us of our Wishes, and in crossing our most reasonable Desires and Inclinations. This Abuse reigneth chiefly in the Country, as I found to my Vexation, when I was last there, in a Visit I made to a Neighbour about two Miles from my Cousin. As soon as I entered the ParLOUR, they put me into the great Chair that stood close by a huge Fire, and kept me there by Force, until I was almost stifled. Then a Boy came in a great Hurry to pull off my Boots, which I in vain opposed; urging, that I must return soon after Dinner. In the mean Time the good Lady whispered her eldest Daughter, and slipped a Key into her Hand.

The

The Girl returned instantly with a Beer-Glass half full of *Aqua-Mirabilis*, and Syrup of Gilly Flowers. I took as much as I had a Mind for; but Madam vowed I should drink it off, (for she was sure it would do me Good after coming out of the cold Air) and I was forced to obey; which absolutely took away my Stomach. When Dinner came in, I had a Mind to sit at a Distance from the Fire; but they told me it was as much as my Life was worth, and set me with my Back just against it. Although my Appetite were quite gone, I resolved to force down as much as I could; and desired the Leg of a Pullet. Indeed, Mr. *Bickerstaff*, says the Lady, you must eat a Wing to oblige me; and so put a Couple upon my Plate. I was persecuted at this Rate during the whole Meal. As often as I called for Small Beer the Master tipped the Wink, and the Servant brought me a Brimmer of *October*. Some Time after Dinner, I ordered my Cousin's Man, who came with me, to get ready the Horses; but it was resolved I should not stir that Night; and when I seemed pretty much bent upon going, they ordered the Stable Door to be locked; and the Children hid my Cloak and Boots. The next Question was, what I would have for Supper? I said I never eat any Thing at Night; but was at last

last in my own Defence obliged to name the first Thing that came into my Head. After three Hours spent chiefly in Apologies for my Entertainment, insinuating to me, ' That, this was the worst Time of the ' Year for Provisions ; that they were at a ' great Distance from any Market ; that, ' they were afraid I should be starved ; and ' that, they knew they kept me to my ' Loss ;' the Lady went and left me to her Husband (for they took special Care I should never be alone.) As soon as her Back was turned, the little Misses ran backwards and forwards every Moment ; and constantly as they came in or went out, made a Courtesy directly at me, which in good Manners I was forced to return with a Bow, and *Your bumble Servant pretty Miss.* Exactly at Eight the Mother came up, and discovered by the Redness of her Face, that Supper was not far off. It was twice as large as the Dinner ; and my Persecution double in Proportion. I desired at my usual Hour to go to my Repose, and was conducted to my Chamber by the Gentleman, his Lady, and the whole Train of Children. They importuned me to drink something before I went to Bed ; and upon my refusing, at last left a Bottle of *Stingo*, as they called it, for fear I should wake and be thirsty in the Night. I was forced in the Morning to

rise

rise and dress myself in the Dark, because they would not suffer my Kinsman's Servant to disturb me at the Hour I desired to be called. I was now resolved to break through all Measures to get away; and after sitting down to a monstrous Breakfast of cold Beef, Mutton, Neats-Tongues, Venison-Pasty, and stale Beer, took Leave of the Family. But the Gentleman would needs see me Part of my Way; and carry me a short cut through his own Grounds, which he told me would save Half a Mile's Riding. This last Piece of Civility had like to have cost me dear; being once or twice in Danger of my Neck, by leaping over his Ditches, and at last forced to alight in the Dirt; when my Horse having slippt his Bridle, ran away, and took us up more than an Hour to recover him again.

It is evident, that none of the Absurdities I met with in this Visit proceeded from an ill Intention, but from a wrong Judgment of Complaisance, and a Misapplication in the Rules of it. I cannot so easily excuse the more refined Criticks upon Behaviour, who, having professed no other Study, are yet infinitely defective in the most material Parts of it. *Ned Fashion* hath been bred all his Life about Court, and understandeth to a Tittle all the Punctillio's of the Drawing-Room. He visiteth most of the fine Women
near

near *St. James's*; and upon every Occasion says the civilest and softest Things to them of any Man breathing. To Mr. *Isaac* * he oweth an easy slide in his Bow, and a graceful Manner of coming into a Room. But in some other Cases he is very far from being a well-bred Person: He laugheth at Men of far superior Understanding to his own, for not being as well dressed as himself; despiseth all his Acquaintance who are not of Quality; and in publick Places hath on that Account often avoided taking Notice of some among the best Speakers in the House of Commons. He railleth strenuously at both Universities before the Members of either; and is never heard to swear an Oath, or break in upon Religion and Morality, except in the Company of Divines. On the other Hand, a Man of right Sense hath all the Essentials of good Breeding, although he may be wanting in the Forms of it. *Horatio* hath spent most of his Time at *Oxford*, he hath a great deal of Learning, an agreeable Wit, and as much Modesty as may serve to adorn without concealing his other good Qualities. In that retired Way of living, he seemeth to have formed a Notion of human Nature, as he hath found it described in the Writings of the greatest Men;

* A famous Dancing-Master in those Days.

Men; not as he is likely to meet with it in the common Course of Life. Hence it is, that he giveth no Offence; but converseth with great Deference, Candor, and Humanity. His Bow, I must confess, is somewhat aukward; but then he hath an extensive, universal, and unaffected Knowledge, which may perhaps a little excuse him. He would make no extraordinary Figure at a Ball; but I can assure the Ladies in his Behalf, and for their own Consolation, that he hath writ better Verses on the Sex than any Man now living, and is preparing such a Poem for the Press, as will transmit their Praises and his own to many Generations.

THE

THE
TATLER.

NUMBER CCXXX.

THURSDAY, Sept. 28, 1710.

This TATLER relateth to the same Subject contained in the Letter to the Lord High-Treasurer, and may be considered as a proper Introduction to it.

From my own Apartments, Sept. 27.

THE following Letter hath laid before me many great and manifest Evils, in the World of Letters, which I had overlooked; but they open to me a very busy Scene, and it will require no small Care and Application to amend Errors which are be-

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come so universal. The Affectation of Politeness is expos'd in this Epistle with a great deal of Wit and Discernment; so that, whatever Discourses I may fall into hereafter upon the Subjects the Writer treateth of, I shall at present lay the Matter before the World, without the least Alteration from the Words of my Correspondent.

To ISAAC BICKERSTAFFE, *Esq*;

SIR,

THERE are some Abuses among us of great Consequence, the Reformation of which is properly your Province; although, as far as I have been conversant in your Papers you have not yet considered them. These are the deplorable Ignorance that for some Years hath reigned among our *English* Writers; the great Depravity of our Taste; and the continual Corruption of our Style. I say nothing here of those who handle particular Sciences, Divinity, Law, Physick, and the like; I mean the Traders in History, and Politicks, and the *Belles Lettres*; together with those by whom Books are not translated, but (as the common Expressions are) *Done out of French, Latin, or other Languages, and made English*. I cannot but observe to you, that, until of late Years, a *Grub-street* Book was

' was always bound in Sheep-skin, with suitable Print and Paper; the Price never
 ' above a Shilling; and taken off wholly by
 ' common Tradesmen, or Country Pedlars.
 ' But now they appear in all Sizes and
 ' Shapes, and in all Places: They are handed
 ' about in Lapfulls from every Coffee-house
 ' to Persons of Quality; are shewn in *West-*
 ' *minster-hall*, and the *Court of Requests*. You
 ' may see them gilt, and in Royal Paper of
 ' five or six hundred Pages, and rated accordingly.
 ' I would engage to furnish you
 ' with a Catalogue of *English* Books, published
 ' within the Compass of seven Years
 ' past, which at the first Hand would cost
 ' you an Hundred Pounds; wherein you
 ' shall not be able to find ten Lines together
 ' of common Grammar or common Sense.

' These two Evils, Ignorance and Want
 ' of Taste, have produced a Third; I mean
 ' a continual Corruption of our *English*
 ' Tongue; which, without some timely
 ' Remedy, will suffer more by the false Refinements
 ' of twenty Years past, than it
 ' hath been improved in the foregoing
 ' Hundred. And this is what I design
 ' chiefly to enlarge upon; leaving the former
 ' Evils to your Animadversion.

' But, instead of giving you a List of the
 ' late Refinements crept into our Language;
 ' I here send you the Copy of a Letter I re-

‘ceived some Time ago from a most accomplished Person in this Way of Writing; upon which I shall make some Remarks. It is in these Terms:

“SIR,

“*I* Cou’dn’t get the Things you sent for all about Town--- I tho’t to ha’ come down myself, and then I’d ha’ bro’t um: but I ha’n’t don’t, and I believe I can’t do’t, that’s pozz.---Tom begins to gi’mself *Airs*, because he’s going with the Plenipo’s.--- ’Tis said the French King will bamboozel us agen, which causes many Speculations. The Jacks, and others, of that Kidney, are very uppish and alert upon’t, as you may see by their Phizz’s.---Will Hazard has got the Hipps, having lost to the Tune of five Hundr’d Pound, tho’ he understands Play very well, no Body better. He has promis’t me upon Rep, to leave off Play; but you know ’tis a Weakness he’s apt to give into, tho’ he has as much Wit as any Man, no Body more. He has lain incog. ever since. ---The Mob’s very quiet with us now--- I believe you tho’t I banter’d you in my Last like a Country Put.---I shan’t leave the Town this Month,” &c.

‘ This Letter is in every Point an admirable Pattern of the present polite Way of
‘ Wri-

' Writing; nor is it of less Authority for being
 ' an Epistle: You may gather every Flower
 ' of it, with a Thousand more of equal
 ' Sweetness, from the Books, Pamphlets,
 ' and single Papers, offered us every Day in
 ' the Coffee-houses; and these are the Beau-
 ' ties introduced to supply the Want of Wit,
 ' Sense, Humour and Learning; which
 ' formerly were looked upon as Qualifica-
 ' tions for a Writer. If a Man of Wit, who
 ' died Forty Years ago, were to rise from
 ' the Grave on Purpose; how would he be
 ' able to read this Letter? and after he had
 ' got through that Difficulty, how would he
 ' be able to understand it? The first Thing
 ' that striketh your Eye, is the *Breaks* at the
 ' End of almost every Sentence; of which I
 ' know not the Use, only that it is a Refine-
 ' ment, and very frequently practised. Then
 ' you will observe the Abbreviations and
 ' Elisions, by which Consonants of most ob-
 ' durate Sound are joined together, without
 ' one softening Vowel to intervene: And all
 ' this only to make one Syllable of two, di-
 ' rectly contrary to the Example of the
 ' *Greeks* and *Romans*; altogether of the *Go-*
 ' *thick* Strain, and a natural Tendency to-
 ' wards relapsing into Barbarity, which de-
 ' lighteth in Monosyllables, and uniting of
 ' mute Consonants; as it is observable in all
 ' the *Northern* Languages. And this is still

' more visible in the next Refinement, which
 ' consisteth in pronouncing the first Syllable
 ' in a Word that hath many, and dismissing
 ' the rest; such as *Phizz*, *Hipps*, *Mob*, *Pozz*,
 ' *Rep*, and many more; when we are already
 ' overloaded with Monosyllables, which are
 ' the Disgrace of our Language. Thus we
 ' cram one Syllable, and cut off the rest; as
 ' the Owl fattened her Mice after she had
 ' bit off their Legs, to prevent them from
 ' running away; and if ours be the same
 ' Reason for maiming of Words, it will cer-
 ' tainly answer the End, for I am sure no
 ' other Nation will desire to borrow them.
 ' Some Words are hitherto but fairly split;
 ' and therefore only in their Way to Per-
 ' fection; as *Incog.* and *Plenipo's*: But in a
 ' short Time, it is to be hoped, they will be
 ' further docked to *Inc.* and *Plen.* This
 ' Reflection had made me, of late Years,
 ' very impatient for a Peace; which, I be-
 ' lieve, would save the Lives of many brave
 ' Words, as well as Men. The War hath
 ' introduced Abundance of Polysyllables,
 ' which will never be able to live many more
 ' Campaigns. *Speculations*, *Operations*, *Pre-*
 ' *liminaries*, *Ambassadors*, *Pallisadoes*, *Com-*
 ' *munication*, *Circumvallation*, *Battalions*, as
 ' numerous as they are, if they attack us
 ' too frequently in our Coffee-houses, we
 ' shall

‘ shall certainly put them to Flight, and cut
‘ off the Rear.

‘ The third Refinement observable in the
‘ Letter I send you, consisteth in the Choice
‘ of certain Words, invented by some *pretty*
‘ *Fellows*, such as *Banter*, *Bamboozle*, *Country*
‘ *Put*, and *Kidney*, as it is there applied ;
‘ some of which are now struggling for the
‘ Vogue, and others are in Possession of it.
‘ I have done my utmost for some Years past
‘ to stop the Progress of *Mob* and *Banter* ;
‘ but have been plainly borne down by Num-
‘ bers, and betrayed by those who promised
‘ to assist me.

‘ In the last Place, you are to take Notice
‘ of certain choice Phrases scattered through
‘ the Letter ; some of them tolerable
‘ enough, until they were worn to Rags
‘ by servile Imitators. You might easily
‘ find them, although they were not in a
‘ different Print ; and therefore I need not
‘ disturb them.

‘ These are the false Refinements in our
‘ Style, which you ought to correct: First,
‘ by Arguments and fair Means ; but, if those
‘ fail, I think you are to make Use of your
‘ Authority as Censor, and by an annual
‘ *Index Expurgatorious*, expunge all Words
‘ and Phrases that are offensive to good
‘ Sense, and condemn those barbarous Mu-
‘ tilations of Vowels and Syllables. In this

‘ last Point, the usual Pretence is, that they
‘ spell as they speak : A noble Standard for
‘ Language ! To depend upon the Caprice
‘ of every Coxcomb ; who, because Words
‘ are the Cloathing of our Thoughts, cuts
‘ them out, and shapes them as he pleaseth,
‘ and changes them oftener than his Dress.
‘ I believe, all reasonable People would be
‘ content, that such Refiners were more spa-
‘ ring of their Words, and liberal in their
‘ Syllables. On this Head, I should be glad
‘ you would bestow some Advice upon se-
‘ veral young Readers in our Churches ;
‘ who coming up from the University, full
‘ fraught with Admiration of our Town Po-
‘ liteness, will needs correct the Style of
‘ their Prayer-Books. In reading the Ab-
‘ solution they are very careful to say *Par-*
‘ *dons* and *Absolves* ; and in the Prayer for
‘ the Royal Family, it must be *end’um*, *en-*
‘ *rich’um*, *prosper’um*, and *bring’um*. Then,
‘ in their Sermons they use all the modern
‘ Terms of Art ; *Sham*, *Banter*, *Mob*, *Bubble*,
‘ *Bully*, *Cutting*, *Shuffling*, and *Palming* :
‘ All which, and many more of the like
‘ Stamp, as I have heard them often in the
‘ Pulpit from some young Sophisters ; so I
‘ have read them in some of *those Sermons*
‘ *that have made a great Noise of late*. The
‘ Design, it seemeth, is to avoid the dread-
‘ ful Imputation of Pedantry ; to shew us,
‘ that

‘ that they *know the Town, understand Men*
 ‘ *and Manners*, and have not been poring
 ‘ upon old unfashionable Books in the Uni-
 ‘ versity.

‘ I should be glad to see you the Instru-
 ‘ ment of introducing into our Style that
 ‘ Simplicity which is the best and truest Or-
 ‘ nament of most Things in human Life,
 ‘ which the politer Ages always aimed at
 ‘ in their Buildings and Drefs (*Simplex mun-*
 ‘ *ditis*) as well as their Productions of Wit.
 ‘ It is manifest, that all new affected Modes
 ‘ of Speech, whether borrowed from the
 ‘ Court, the Town, or the Theatre, are the
 ‘ first perishing Parts in any Language; and,
 ‘ as I could prove by many Hundred In-
 ‘ stances, have been so in ours. The Wri-
 ‘ tings of *Hooker*, who was a Country Cler-
 ‘ gyman, and of *Parsons* the Jesuit, both in
 ‘ the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*; are in a
 ‘ Style that, with very few Allowances,
 ‘ would not offend any present Reader;
 ‘ much more clear and intelligible than those
 ‘ of Sir *H. Wootton*, Sir *Robert Nauton*, *Of-*
 ‘ *burn*, *Daniel* the Historian, and several
 ‘ others who writ later; but being Men of
 ‘ the Court, and affecting the Phrases then
 ‘ in Fashion; they are often either not to be
 ‘ understood, or appear perfectly ridiculous.

‘ What Remedies are to be applied to these
 ‘ Evils, I have not Room to consider; hav-
 ‘ ing,

' ing, I fear, already taken up most Part of
' your Paper. Besides, I think it is our Office
' only to represent Abuses, and yours to re-
' dress them.

' *I am, with great Respect,*

' *S I R,*

' *Yours, &c.*

A P R O -

A
P R O P O S A L
F O R
Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining,
T H E
E N G L I S H - T O N G U E .

In a LETTER to the Most Honble. ROBERT,
Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High-
Treasurer of Great-Britain.

It is well known, that if the Queen had lived a Year or two longer, the following Proposal would in all Probability have taken Effect. For the Lord Treasurer had already nominated several Persons, without Distinction of Quality or Party, who were to compose a Society for the Purposes mentioned by the Author ; and resolved to use his Credit with her Majesty, that a Fund should be applied to support the Expence of a large Room, where the Society should meet, and other Incidents. But this Scheme fell to the Ground, partly by the Dissentions among the great Men at Court ; but chiefly by the lamented Death of that glorious Princess.

To the Most Hon. ROBERT, Earl of Oxford.

My Lord,

WHAT I had the Honour of mentioning to your Lordship some Time ago in Conversation, was not a new Thought, just then started by Accident or Occasion,
but

but the Result of long Reflection; and I have been confirmed in my Sentiments by the Opinion of some very judicious Persons, with whom I consulted. They all agreed, That no Thing would be of greater Use towards the Improvement of Knowledge and Politeness, than some effectual Method for *Correcting, Enlarging, and Ascertaining* our Language; and they think it a Work very possible to be compassed, under the Protection of a Prince, the Countenance and Encouragement of a Ministry, and the Care of proper Persons, chosen for such an Undertaking. I was glad to find your Lordship's Answer in so different a Style from what hath been commonly made Use of on such like Occasions, for some Years past: *That all such Thoughts must be deferred to a Time of Peace:* A Topick which some have carried so far, that they would not have us by any Means think of preserving our Civil or Religious Constitution, because we are engaged in a War Abroad. It will be among the distinguishing Marks of your Ministry, my Lord, that you had a Genius above all such Regards; and that no reasonable Proposal for the Honour, the Advantage, or the Ornament of your Country, however foreign to your more immediate Office, was ever neglected by you. I confess the Merit of this Candour and Condescension is very much lessened;

lessened ; because your Lordship hardly leaveth us Room to offer our good Wishes; removing all our Difficulties, and supplying our Wants, faster than the most visionary Projector can adjust his Schemes. And therefore, my Lord, the Design of this Paper is not so much to offer you *Ways* and *Means*, as to complain of a *Grievance*, the redressing of which is to be your own Work, as much as that of paying the *Nation's Debts*, or opening a Trade into the *South Sea*; and although not of such immediate Benefit as either of these, or any other of your glorious Actions, yet, perhaps, in future Ages not less to your Honour.

My Lord, I do here, in the Name of all the learned and polite Persons of the Nation, complain to your Lordship, as *First Minister*, that our Language is extremely imperfect ; that its daily Improvements are by no Means in Proportion to its daily Corruptions; that the Pretenders to polish and refine it have chiefly multiplied Abuses and Absurdities; and that, in many Instances, it offendeth against every Part of Grammar. But, lest your Lordship should think my Censure too severe, I shall take Leave to be more particular.

I believe your Lordship will agree with me in the Reason why our Language is less refined than those of *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*.

It

It is plain, that the *Latin* Tongue, in its Purity, was never in this Island; towards the Conquest of which few or no Attempts were made until the Time of *Claudius*: Neither was that Language ever so vulgar in *Britain* as it is known to have been in *Gaul* and *Spain*. Further, we find that the *Roman* Legions here were at length all recalled to help their Country against the *Goths*, and other barbarous Invaders. Mean Time the *Britons*, left to shift for themselves, and daily harrassed by cruel Inroads from the *Picts*, were forced to call in the *Saxons* for their Defence; who consequently reduced the greatest Part of the Island to their own Power, drove the *Britons* into the most remote and mountainous Parts; and the rest of the Country, in Customs, Religion, and Language, became wholly *Saxon*. This I take to be the Reason why there are more *Latin* Words remaining in the *British* Tongue than in the old *Saxon*; which, excepting some few Variations in the Orthography, is the same in most original Words with our present *English*, as well as with the *German* and other *Northern* Dialects.

Edward the Confessor, having lived long in *France*, appeareth to be the first who introduced any Mixture of the *French* Tongue with the *Saxon*; the Court affecting what the Prince was fond of, and others taking it
up

up for a Fashion as it is now with us. *William the Conqueror* proceeded much further; bringing over with him vast Numbers of that Nation, scattering them in every Monastery, giving them great Quantities of Land, directing all Pleadings to be in that Language, and endeavouring to make it universal in the Kingdom. This, at least, is the Opinion generally received: But your Lordship hath fully convinced me, that the *French* Tongue made yet a greater Progress here under *Harry* the Second, who had large Territories on that Continent, both from his Father and his Wife; made frequent Journeys and Expeditions thither, and was always attended with a Number of his Countrymen, Retainers at his Court. For some Centuries after, there was a constant Intercourse between *France* and *England*, by the Dominions we possessed there, and the Conquests we made: So that our Language, between two or three Hundred Years ago, seemeth to have had a greater Mixture with the *French* than at present; many Words having been afterwards rejected, and some since the Time of *Spencer*; although we have still retained not a few, which have been long antiquated in *France*. I could produce several Instances of both Kinds, if it were of any Use or Entertainment.

To

To examine into the several Circumstances, by which the Language of a Country may be altered, would force me to enter into a wide Field. I shall only observe, that the *Latin*, the *French*, and the *English*, seem to have undergone the same Fortune. The first, from the Days of *Romulus* to those of *Julius Cæsar*, suffered perpetual Changes; and by what we meet in those Authors who occasionally speak on that Subject, as well as from certain Fragments of old Laws; it is manifest, that the *Latin*, three Hundred Years before *Tully*, was as unintelligible in his Time, as the *English* and *French* of the same Period are now; and these two having changed as much since *William the Conqueror*, (which is but little less than seven Hundred Years) as the *Latin* appeareth to have done in the like Term. Whether our Language, or the *French* will decline as fast as the *Roman* did, is a Question that would perhaps admit more Debate than it is worth. There were many Reasons for the Corruptions of the last: As the Change of their Government to a Tyranny, which ruined the Study of Eloquence; there being no further Use or Encouragement for popular Orators: Their giving not only the Freedom of the City, but Capacity for Employments, to several Towns in *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, and other distant Parts, as far as *Asia*; which brought

brought a great Number of foreign Pretenders into *Rome*: The slavish Disposition of the Senate and People; by which the Wit and Eloquence of the Age were wholly turned into Panegyrick; the most barren of all Subjects: The great Corruption of Manners, and Introduction of foreign Luxury, with foreign Terms to express it: With several others that might be assigned: Not to mention those Invasions from the *Goths* and *Vandals*, which are too obvious to insist on.

The *Roman* Language arrived at great Perfection before it began to decay: The *French*, for these last fifty Years, hath been polishing as much as it will bear; and appeareth to be declining by the natural Inconstancy of that People, as well as the Affectation of some late Authors, to introduce and multiply *Cant* Words, which is the most ruinous Corruption in any Language. *La Bruyere*, a late celebrated Writer among them, maketh Use of many new Terms which are not to be found in any of the common Dictionaries before his Time. But the *English* Tongue is not arrived to such a Degree of Perfection, as, upon that Account, to make us apprehend any Thoughts of its Decay: And, if it were once refined to a certain Standard, perhaps, there might be Ways to fix it for ever, or at least until we are invaded, and made a Conquest by some other State: And, even

then, our best Writings might probably be preserved with Care, and grow into Esteem, and the Authors have a Chance for Immortality.

But without such great Revolutions as these, (to which we are, I think, less subject than Kingdoms upon the Continent) I see no absolute Necessity why any Language should be perpetually changing; for we find many Examples to the contrary. From *Homer* to *Plutarch* are above a Thousand Years; so long, at least, the Purity of the *Greek* Tongue may be allowed to last; and we know not how far before. The *Grecians* spread their Colonies round all the Coasts of *Asia Minor*, even to the *Northern* Parts, lying towards the *Euxine*; in every Island of the *Ægean Sea*, and several others in the *Mediterranean*; where the Language was preserved entire for many Ages, after they themselves became Colonies to *Rome*, and until they were over-run by the barbarous Nations upon the Fall of that Empire. The *Chinese* have Books in their Language above Two Thousand Years old; neither have the frequent Conquests of the *Tartars* been able to alter it. The *German*, *Spanish*, and *Italian*, have admitted few or no Changes for some Ages past. The other Languages of *Europe* I know nothing of; neither is there any Occasion to consider them.

Having

Having taken this Compass, I return to those Considerations upon our own Language, which I would humbly offer your Lordship. The Period wherein the *English Tongue* received most Improvement, I take to commence with the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and to conclude with the great Rebellion in Forty-two. It is true, there was a very ill Taste both of Style and Wit, which prevailed under King *James* the First; but that seemeth to have been corrected in the first Years of his Successors; who, among many other Qualifications of an excellent Prince, was a great Patron of Learning. From that great Rebellion to this present Time, I am apt to doubt, whether the Corruptions in our Language have not, at least, equalled the Refinements of it, and these Corruptions very few of the best Authors in our Age have wholly escaped. During the Usurpation, such an Infusion of Enthusiastick Jargon prevailed in every Writing, as was not shaken off in many Years after. To this succeeded that Licentiousness which entered with the *Restoration*; and, from infecting our Religion and Morals, fell to corrupt our Language: Which last was not like to be much improved by those who, at that Time, made up the Court of King *Charles* the Second; either such who had followed him in his Banishment, or who

had been altogether conversant in the Dialect of those *Fanatick Times*; or young Men, who had been educated in the same Company; so that the *Court*, which used to be the Standard of Propriety and Correctness of Speech, was then, and I think hath ever since continued the worst School in *England* for that Accomplishment; and so will remain, until better Care be taken in the Education of our young Nobility; that they may set out into the World with some Foundation of Literature, in order to qualify them for Patterns of Politeness. The Consequence of this Defect upon our Language may appear from the Plays, and other Compositions, written for Entertainment, within fifty Years past; filled with a Succession of affected Phrases, and new conceited Words, either borrowed from the current Style of the Court, or from those, who, under the Character of Men of Wit and Pleasure, pretend to give the Law. Many of these Refinements have already been long antiquated, and are now hardly intelligible; which is no Wonder, when they were the Product only of Ignorance and Caprice.

I have never known this great Town without one or more *Dunces* of Figure, who had Credit enough to give Rise to some new Word, and propagate it in most Conversations; although it had neither Humour nor

Sig-

Significancy. If it struck the present Taste, it was soon transferred into the Plays and current Scribbles of the Week, and became an Addition to our Language; while the Men of Wit and Learning, instead of early obviating such Corruptions, were too often seduced to imitate and comply with them.

There is another Set of Men who have contributed very much to the spoiling of the *English* Tongue; I mean the Poets, from the Time of the Restoration. These Gentlemen, although they could not be sensible how much our Language was already overstocked with Monosyllables, yet to save Time and Pains, introduced that barbarous Custom of abbreviating Words, to fit them to the Measure of their Verses; and this they have frequently done so very injudiciously, as to form such harsh unharmonious Sounds, that none but a *Northern* Ear could endure. They have joined the most obdurate Consonants, without one intervening Vowel, only to shorten a Syllable: And their Taste in Time became so depraved, that what was at first a poetical Licence, not to be justified, they made their Choice; alledging, that the Words pronounced at length sounded faint and languid. This was a Pretence to take up the same Custom in Prose; so that most of the Books we see now-adays are full of those Manglings and Abbreviations. In-

stances of this Abuse are innumerable: what doth your Lordship think of the Words, *Drudg'd, Disturb'd, Rebuk'd, Fledg'd*, and a Thousand others, every where to be met in Prose, as well as Verse? Where, by leaving out a Vowel to save a Syllable, we form so jarring a Sound, and so difficult to utter, that I have often wondered how it could ever obtain.

Another Cause, (and perhaps borrowed from the former) which hath contributed not a little to the maiming of our Language, is a foolish Opinion, advanced of late Years, that we ought to spell exactly as we speak; which, besides the obvious Inconvenience of utterly destroying our Etymology, would be a Thing we should never see an End of. Not only the several Towns and Counties of *England* have a different Way of pronouncing; but even here in *London* they clip their Words after one Manner about the Court, another in the City, and a third in the Suburbs; and in a few Years, it is probable, will all differ from themselves, as Fancy or Fashion shall direct: All which, reduced to Writing, would entirely confound Orthography. Yet many People are so fond of this Conceit, that it is sometimes a difficult Matter to read modern Books and Pamphlets; where the Words are so curtailed, and varied from their original Spelling, that
 whoever

whoever hath been used to plain *English* will hardly know them by Sight.

Several young Men at the Universities, terribly possessed with the Fear of Pedantry, run into a worse Extream; and think all Politeness to consist in reading the daily Trash sent down to them from hence: This they call *knowing the World*, and *reading Men and Manners*. Thus furnished, they come up to Town; reckon all their Errors for Accomplishments, borrow the newest Set of Phrases, and if they take a Pen into their Hands, all the odd Words they have picked up in a Coffee-House or a Gaming-Ordinary, are produced as Flowers of Style; and the Orthography refined to the utmost. To this we owe those monstrous Productions, which under the Names of *Trips*, *Spies*, *Amusements*, and other conceited Appellations, have over-run us for some Years past. To this we owe that strange Race of Wits, who tell us they write to the *Honour of the Age*. And, I wish I could say, these quaint Fopperies were wholly absent from graver Subjects. In short, I would undertake to shew your Lordship several Pieces, where the Beauties of this Kind are so predominant, that, with all your Skill in Languages, you could never be able either to read or understand them.

But, I am very much mistaken, if many of these false Refinements among us do not arise from a Principle, which would quite destroy their Credit, if it were well understood and considered. For I am afraid, my Lord, that, with all the real good Qualities of our Country, we are naturally not very polite. This perpetual Disposition to shorten our Words, by retrenching the Vowels, is nothing else but a Tendency to lapse into the Barbarity of those *Northern* Nations from whom we are descended, and whose Languages labour all under the same Defect. For it is worthy our Observation, that the *Spaniards*, the *French*, and the *Italians*, although derived from the same *Northern* Ancestors with ourselves, are, with the utmost Difficulty, taught to pronounce our Words; which the *Swedes* and *Danes*, as well as the *Germans* and the *Dutch*, attain to with Ease, because our Syllables resemble theirs, in the Roughness and Frequency of Consonants. Now, as we struggle with an ill Climate to improve the nobler Kinds of Fruits; are at the Expence of Walls to receive and reverberate the faint Rays of the Sun, and fence against the Northern Blasts; we sometimes, by the Help of a good Soil, equal the Productions of warmer Countries, who have no Need to be at so much Cost or Care: It is the same Thing with respect to
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the politer Arts among us; and the same Defect of Heat, which giveth a Fierceness to our Natures, may contribute to that Roughness of our Language, which beareth some Analogy to the harsh Fruit of colder Countries. For I do not reckon that we want a *Genius*, more than the rest of our Neighbours: But your Lordship will be of my Opinion, that we ought to struggle with these natural Disadvantages as much as we can; and be careful whom we employ, whenever we design to correct them; which is a Work that hath hitherto been assumed by the least qualified Hands: So that, if the Choice had been left to me, I would rather have trusted the Refinement of our Language, as far as it relateth to Sound, to the Judgment of the Women, than of illiterate Court Fops, half-witted Poets, and University Boys. For it is plain, that Women, in their Manner of corrupting Words, do naturally discard the Consonants, as we do the Vowels. What I am going to tell your Lordship, appeareth very trifling; that more than once, where some of both Sexes were in Company, I have persuaded two or three of each to take a Pen, and write down a Number of Letters joined together, just as it came into their Heads; and upon reading this Gibberish, we have found that which the Men had writ, by the frequent encounter-

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ing of rough Consonants, to sound like *High-Dutch*; and the other by the Women, like *Italian*, abounding in Vowels and Liquids. Now, although I would by no Means give Ladies the Trouble of advising us in the Reformation of our Language; yet I cannot help thinking, that since they have been left out of all Meetings, except Parties at Play, or where worse Designs are carried on, our Conversation hath very much degenerated.

In order to reform our Language, I conceive, my Lord, that a free judicious Choice should be made of such Persons as are generally allowed to be best qualified for such a Work, without any Regard to Quality, Party, or Profession. These, to a certain Number at least, should assemble at some appointed Time and Place, and fix on Rules by which they design to proceed. What Methods they will take, is not for me to prescribe. Your Lordship, and other Persons in great Employment, might please to be of the Number: And, I am afraid, such a Society would want your Instruction and Example, as much as your Protection. For I have, not without a little Envy, observed of late the Style of some great Ministers very much to exceed that of any other Productions.

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The Persons who are to undertake this Work will have the Example of the *French* before them, to imitate where these have proceeded right, and to avoid their Mistakes. Besides the Grammar Part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will observe many gross Improproprieties, which, however authorised by Practice, and grow familiar, ought to be discarded. They will find many Words that deserve to be utterly thrown out of our Language; many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few, long since antiquated, which ought to be restored, on Account of their Energy and Sound.

But what I have most at Heart is, that some Method should be thought on for *Ascertaining* and *Fixing* our Language for ever, after such Alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite. For I am of Opinion, that it is better a Language should not be wholly perfect, than that it should be perpetually changing; and we must give over at one Time or other, or at length infallibly change for the worse: As the *Romans* did, when they began to quit their Simplicity of Style for affected Refinements; such as we meet in *Tacitus* and other Authors, which ended by Degrees in many Barbarities, even before the *Goths* had invaded *Italy*.

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The Fame of our Writers is usually confined to these two Islands; and it is hard it should be limited in *Time* as much as in *Place*, by the perpetual Violations of our Speech. It is your Lordship's Observation, that, if it were not for the *Bible* and *Common Prayer Book* in the vulgar Tongue, we should hardly be able to understand any Thing that was written among us an hundred Years ago; which is certainly true: For those Books, being perpetually read in Churches, have proved a Kind of Standard for Language, especially to the common People. And, I doubt, whether the Alterations, since introduced, have added much to the Beauty or Strength of the *English* Tongue, although they have taken off a great deal from that *Simplicity*, which is one of the greatest Perfections in any Language. You, my Lord, who are so conversant in the sacred Writings, and so great a Judge of them in their Original, will agree, that no Translation, our Country ever yet produced, hath come up to that of the *Old* and *New Testament*: And by the many beautiful Passages, which I have often had the Honour to hear your Lordship cite from thence, I am persuaded that the Translators of the Bible were Masters of an *English* Stile much fitter for that Work, than any we see in our present Writings; which I take
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to be owing to the *Simplicity* that runs through the Whole. Then, as to the greatest Part of our *Liturgy*, compiled long before the Translation of the Bible now in Use, and little altered since; there seem to be in it as great Strains of true sublime Eloquence, as are any where to be found in our Language; which every Man of good Taste will observe in the *Communion-Service*, that of *Burial*, and other Parts.

But, where I say, that I would have our Language, after it is duly correct, always to last, I do not mean that it should never be enlarged: Provided, that no Word, which a Society shall give a Sanction to, be afterwards antiquated and exploded, they may have Liberty to receive whatever new ones they shall find Occasion for: Because then the old Books will yet be always valuable according to their intrinsic Worth, and not thrown aside on Account of unintelligible Words and Phrases; which appear harsh and uncouth, only because they are out of Fashion. Had the *Roman* Tongue continued vulgar in that City until this Time; it would have been absolutely necessary, from the mighty Changes that have been made in Law and Religion; from the many Terms of Art required in Trade and in War; from the new Inventions that have happened in the World; from the vast spreading of Navigation

vigation and Commerce; with many other obvious Circumstances, to have made great Additions to that Language; yet the Antients would still have been read, and understood with Pleasure and Ease. The *Greek* Tongue received many Enlargements between the Time of *Homer* and that of *Plutarch*; yet the former Author was probably as well understood in *Trajan's* Time, as the latter. What *Horace* sayeth of *Words going off, and perishing like Leaves, and new ones coming in their Place*, is a Misfortune he lamenteth, rather than a Thing he approveth: But I cannot see why this should be absolutely necessary, or if it were, what would have become of his *Monumentum ære perennius*.

Writing by Memory only, as I do at present, I would gladly keep within my Depth; and therefore shall not enter into further Particulars. Neither do I pretend more than to shew the Usefulness of this Design, and to make some general Observations; leaving the rest to that Society, which, I hope, will owe its Institution and Patronage to your Lordship. Besides, I would willingly avoid Repetition, having, about a Year ago, communicated to the Publick much of what I had to offer upon this Subject, by the Hands of an ingenious * Gentleman, who for a long Time did thrice a Week di-

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* MR. ADDISON.

vert or instruct the Kingdom by his Papers; and is supposed to pursue the same Design at present, under the Title of *Spectator*. This Author, who hath tried the Force and Compass of our Language with so much Success, agreeth entirely with me in most of my Sentiments relating to it: So do the greatest Part of the Men of Wit and Learning, whom I have had the Happiness to converse with: And therefore I imagine, that such a Society would be pretty unanimous in the main Points.

Your Lordship must allow, that such a Work as this, brought to Perfection, would very much contribute to the Glory of her Majesty's Reign; which ought to be recorded in Words more durable than Brass, and such as our Posterity may read a thousand Years hence, with Pleasure, as well as Admiration. I have always disapproved that false Compliment to Princes; that the most lasting Monument they can have is the Hearts of their Subjects. It is indeed their greatest present Felicity to reign in their Subjects Hearts; but these are too perishable to preserve their Memories, which can only be done by the Pens of able and faithful Historians. And I take it to be your Lordship's Duty, as *prime Minister*, to give Orders for inspecting our Language, and rendering it fit to record the History of so great and good

good a Princess. Besides, my Lord, as disinterested as you appear to the World, I am convinced, that no Man is more in the Power of a prevailing favourite Passion than yourself; I mean, that Desire of true and lasting Honour, which you have borne along with you through every Stage of your Life. To this you have often sacrificed your Interest, your Ease, and your Health: For preserving and increasing this, you have exposed your Person to secret Treachery, and open Violence *. There is not, perhaps, an Example in History of any Minister, who, in so short a Time, hath performed so many great Things, and overcome so many Difficulties. Now, although I am fully convinced that you fear God, honour your Queen, and love your Country, as much as any of your Fellow-Subjects; yet I must believe, that the Desire of Fame hath been no inconsiderable Motive to quicken you in the Pursuit of those Actions which will best deserve it. But, at the same Time, I must be so plain as to tell your Lordship, that if you will not take some Care to settle our Language, and put it into a State of Continuance, I cannot promise that your Memory shall be preserved above an hundred Years, further than by imperfect Tradition.

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* See the *Examiner*, No. 32, Vol. 5.

As barbarous and ignorant as we were in former Centuries, there was more effectual Care taken by our Ancestors to preserve the Memory of Times and Persons, than we find in this Age of Learning and Politeness, as we are pleased to call it. The rude *Latin* of the *Monks* is still very intelligible; whereas, had their Records been delivered down only in the vulgar Tongue, so barren and so barbarous, so subject to continual succeeding Changes, they could not now be understood, unless by Antiquaries, who made it their Study to expound them. And we must, at this Day, have been content with such poor Abstracts of our *English* Story, as laborious Men of low Genius would think fit to give us: And even these, in the next Age, would be likewise swallowed up in succeeding Collections. If Things go on at this Rate, all I can promise your Lordship is, that, about two hundred Years hence, some painful Compiler, who will be at the Trouble of studying old Language, may inform the World, that, in the Reign of Queen ANNE, Robert, Earl of Oxford, a very wise and excellent Man, was made *High-Treasurer*, and saved his Country; which in those Days was almost ruined by a *foreign War*, and a *domestick Faction*. Thus much he may be able to pick out, and willing to transfer into his new History: But, the rest of your

Character *, which I, or any other Writer may now value ourselves by drawing, and the particular Account of the great Things done under your Ministry, for which you are already so celebrated in most Parts of *Europe*, will probably be dropt, on Account of the antiquated Style, and Manner they are delivered in.

How then shall any Man, who hath a Genius for History equal to the best of the Antients, be able to undertake such a Work with Spirit and Chearfulness, when he considers, that he will be read with Pleasure but a very few Years, and in an Age or two shall hardly be understood without an Interpreter? This is like employing an excellent Statuary to work upon mouldering Stone. Those, who apply their Studies to preserve the Memory of others, will always have some Concern for their own. And I believe it is for this Reason, that so few Writers among us, of any Distinction, have turned their Thoughts to such a discouraging Employment: For the best *English* Historian must lie under this Mortification, that when his Style groweth antiquated, he will be only considered as a tedious Relater of Facts; and perhaps consulted in his Turn, among
other

* Vide Vol. IX. Pages 135, 136, &c.—Vol. IX. 12mo. Pages 102, 103, 104, &c.

other neglected Authors, to furnish Materials for some future Collector.

I doubt your Lordship is but ill entertained with a few scattered Thoughts, upon a Subject that deserveth to be treated with Ability and Care: However, I must beg Leave to add a few Words more, perhaps not altogether foreign to the same Matter. I know not whether that which I am going to say may pass for Caution, Advice, or Reproach; any of which will be justly thought very improper from one in my Station to one in yours. However, I must venture to affirm, that if Genius and Learning be not encouraged under your Lordship's Administration, you are the most inexcusable Person alive. All your other Virtues, my Lord, will be defective without this: Your Affability, Candour, and Good-nature; that perpetual Agreeableness of Conversation, so disengaged in the Midst of such a Weight of Business and Opposition; even your Justice, Prudence, and Magnanimity, will shine less bright without it. Your Lordship is universally allowed to possess a very large Portion in most Parts of Literature; and to this you owe the cultivating of those many Virtues, which otherwise would have been less adorned, or in lower Perfection. Neither can you acquit yourself of these Obligations, without letting the Arts, in their Turn,

share your Influence and Protection. Besides, who knoweth but some *true Genius* may happen to arise under your Ministry, *exortus et ætherius Sol.* Every Age might, perhaps, produce one or two of these to adorn it, if they were not sunk under the Censure and Obloquy of plodding, servile, imitating Pedants: I do not mean by a true Genius any bold Writer, who breaks thro' the Rules of Decency to distinguish himself by the Singularity of Opinions; but one, who, upon a deserving Subject, is able to open new Scenes, and discover a Vein of true and noble Thinking, which never entered into any Imagination before: Every Stroke of whose Pen is worth all the Paper blotted by hundreds of others in the Compass of their Lives. I know, my Lords, your Friends will offer in your Defence, that, in your private Capacity, you never refused your Purse and Credit to the Service and Support of learned or ingenious Men: And that, ever since you have been in publick Employment, you have constantly bestowed your Favours to the most deserving Persons. But I desire your Lordship not to be deceived: We never will admit of these Excuses; nor will allow your private Liberality, as great as it is, to atone for your excessive publick Thrift. But here again, I am afraid, most good Subjects will interpose in your Defence,
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by alledging the desperate Condition you found the Nation in, and the Necessity there was for so able and faithful a Steward to retrieve it, if possible, by the utmost Frugality. We grant all this, my Lord; but then, it ought likewise to be considered, that you have already saved several Millions to the Publick; and that what we ask is too inconsiderable to break into any Rules of the strictest good Husbandry. The *French* King bestoweth about half a Dozen Pensions to learned Men in several Parts of *Europe*; and perhaps a Dozen in his own Kingdom; which, in the whole, do probably not amount to half the Income of many a private Commoner in *England*; yet have more contributed to the Glory of that Prince, than any Million he hath otherwise employed. For Learning, like all true Merit, is easily satisfied; whilst the False and Counterfeit is perpetually craving, and never thinketh it hath enough. The smallest Favour given by a great Prince as a Mark of Esteem, to reward the Endowments of the Mind, never faileth to be returned with Praise and Gratitude, and loudly celebrated to the World. I have known, some Years ago, several Pensions given to particular Persons, (how deservedly I shall not enquire) any one of which, if divided into smaller Parcels, and distributed by the Crown to those who

might, upon Occasion, distinguish themselves by some extraordinary Production of Wit or Learning, would be amply sufficient to answer the End: Or, if any such Persons were above Money, (as every great *Genius* certainly is, with very moderate Conveniencies of Life) a Medal, or some Mark of Distinction, would do full as well.

But I forget my Province, and find myself turning Projector before I am aware; although it be one of the last Characters under which I should desire to appear before your Lordship; especially, when I have the Ambition of aspiring to that of being, with the greatest Respect and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient, most obliged,

And most humble Servant,

J. SWIFT.

LONDON, Feb. 22d,
1711-12.

A LET-

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L E T T E R
T O A
Y O U N G G E N T L E M A N
Lately entered into
H O L Y O R D E R S.

By a PERSON of QUALITY.

Dated *January* 19, 1719-20.

S I R,

ALTHOUGH it were against my Knowledge, or Advice, that you entered into Holy Orders, under the present Dispositions of Mankind towards the *Church*; yet, since it is now supposed too late to recede, (at least according to the general Practice and Opinion) I cannot forbear offering my Thoughts to you upon this new Condition of Life you are engaged in.

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I could heartily wish that the Circumstances of your Fortune had enabled you to have continued some Years longer in the University; at least, until you were ten Years standing; to have laid in a competent Stock of human Learning, and some Knowledge in Divinity, before you attempted to appear in the World: For, I cannot but lament the common Course, which at least Nipe in Ten of those who enter into the Ministry are obliged to run. When they have taken a Degree, and are consequently grown a Burden to their Friends; who now think themselves fully discharged; they get into Orders as soon as they can, (upon which I shall make no Remarks) first solicit a Readership, and, if they be very fortunate, arrive in Time to a Curacy here in Town; or else are sent to be Assistants in the Country, where they probably continue several Years, (many of them their whole Lives) with thirty or forty Pounds a Year for their Support, until some Bishop, who happeneth to be not over-stocked with Relations, or attached to Favourites, or is content to supply his Diocese without Colonies from *England*, bestows them some inconsiderable Benefice; when it is odds they are already encumbered with a numerous Family. I would be glad to know what Intervals of Life such Persons can possibly set apart for Improve-

Improvement of their Minds; or which Way they could be furnished with Books; the Library they brought with them from their College being usually not the most numerous, or judiciously chosen. If such Gentlemen arrive to be great Scholars, it must, I think, be either by Means supernatural, or by a Method altogether out of any Road yet known to the Learned. But I conceive the Fact directly otherwise; and that many of them lose the greatest Part of the small Pittance they received at the University.

I take it for granted, that you intend to pursue the beaten Track, and are already desirous to be seen in a Pulpit; only, I hope, you will think it proper to pass your Quarantine among some of the desolate Churches five Miles round this Town, where you may at least learn to *read* and to *speak*, before you venture to expose your Parts in a City-Congregation: Not that these are better Judges, but because, if a Man must needs expose his Folly, it is more safe and discreet to do so before few Witnesses, and in a scattered Neighbourhood. And you will do well, if you can prevail upon some intimate and judicious Friend to be your constant Hearer, and allow him with the utmost Freedom to give you Notice of whatever he shall find amiss either in your Voice or Gesture;

ture; for want of which early Warning, many Clergymen continue defective, and sometimes ridiculous, to the End of their Lives: Neither is it rare to observe among excellent and learned Divines, a certain ungracious Manner, or an unhappy Tone of Voice, which they never have been able to shake off.

I could likewise have been glad, if you had applied yourself a little more to the Study of the *English* Language, than I fear you have done; the Neglect whereof is one of the most general Defects among the Scholars of this Kingdom, who seem to have not the least Conception of a Style, but run on in a flat Kind of Phraseology, often mingled with barbarous Terms and Expressions peculiar to the Nation: Neither do I perceive that any Person either findeth or acknowledgeth his Wants upon this Head, or in the least desireth to have them supplied. Proper Words in proper Places make the true Definition of a Style: But this would require too ample a Disquisition to be now dwelt on. However, I shall venture to name one or two Faults, which are easy to be remedied with a very small Portion of Abilities.

The first is the frequent Use of obscure Terms, which by the Women are called *hard Words*, and by the best Sort of Vulgar, *fine Language*; than which I do not know
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a more universal, inexcusable, and unnecessary Mistake among the Clergy of all Distinctions, but especially the young Practitioners. I have been curious enough to take a List of several hundred Words in a Sermon of a new Beginner, which not one of his Hearers among a hundred could possibly understand: Neither can I easily call to Mind any Clergyman of my own Acquaintance who is wholly exempt from this Error, although many of them agree with me in the Dislike of the Thing. But, I am apt to put myself in the Place of the Vulgar, and think many Words difficult or obscure, which the Preacher will not allow to be so, because those Words are obvious to Scholars. I believe the Method observed by the famous Lord *Falkland*, in some of his Writings, would not be an ill one for your Divines: I was assured by an old Person of Quality, who knew him well, that when he doubted whether a Word were perfectly intelligible or no, he used to consult one of his Lady's Chambermaids (not the Waiting-woman, because it was possible she might be conversant in Romances) and by her Judgment was guided, whether to receive or reject it. And if that great Person thought such a Caution necessary in Treatises offered to the learned World; it will be sure at least as proper in Sermons, where the meanest Hearer is supposed

posed to be concerned; and where very often a Lady's Chambermaid may be allowed to equal half the Congregation, both as to Quality and Understanding. But, I know not how it cometh to pass, that Professors in most Arts and Sciences are generally the worst qualified to explain their Meanings to those who are not of their Tribe: A common Farmer shall make you understand in three Words, *that his Foot is out of Joint, or his Collar-bone broken*; whereas a Surgeon, after a hundred Terms of Art, if you are not a Scholar, shall leave you to seek. It is frequently the same Case in Law, Physick, and even many of the meaner Arts.

And upon this Account it is, that among *hard Words* I number likewise those which are peculiar to Divinity, as it is a Science; because I have observed several Clergymen, otherwise little fond of obscure Terms, yet in their Sermons very liberal of those which they find in Ecclesiastical Writers, as if it were our Duty to understand them; which I am sure it is not. And I defy the greatest Divine to produce any Law either of God or Man, which obligeth me to comprehend the Meaning of *Omniscience, Omnipresence, Ubiquity, Attribute, Beatifick Vision*, with a thousand others so frequent in Pulpits; any more than that of *Excentrick, Idiosyncrasy, Entity*, and the like. I believe, I may

may venture to insist further, that many Terms used in Holy Writ, particularly by *St. Paul*, might with more Discretion be changed into plainer Speech, except when they are introduced as Part of a Quotation.

I am the more earnest in this Matter, because it is a general Complaint, and the justest in the World. For a Divine hath nothing to say to the wisest Congregation of any Parish in this Kingdom, which he may not express in a Manner to be understood by the meanest among them. And this Assertion must be true, or else God requireth from us more than we are able to perform. However, not to contend whether a Logician might possibly put a Case that would serve for an Exception; I will appeal to any Man of Letters, whether at least nineteen in twenty of those perplexing Words might not be changed into easy ones, such as naturally first occur to ordinary Men; and probably did so at first to those very Gentlemen, who are so fond of the former.

We are often reproved by Divines from the Pulpit, on Account of our Ignorance in Things sacred; and perhaps with Justice enough: However, it is not very reasonable for them to expect, that common *Men* should understand Expressions, which are never made use of in *common Life*. No Gentleman thinketh it safe or prudent to send a

Servant

Servant with a Message without repeating it more than once, and endeavouring to put it into Terms brought down to the Capacity of the Bearer: Yet, after all this Care, it is frequent for Servants to mistake, and sometimes occasional Misunderstandings between Friends; although the common Domesticks in some Gentlemens Families may have more Opportunities of improving their Minds, than the ordinary Sort of Tradesmen.

It is usual for Clergymen who are taxed with this learned Defect, to quote Dr. *Tillotson*, and other famous Divines, in their Defence; without considering the Difference between elaborate Discourses upon important Occasions, delivered to Princes or Parliaments, written with a View of being made publick; and a plain Sermon intended for the middle or lower Size of People. Neither do they seem to remember the many Alterations, Additions, and Expungings made by great Authors, in those Treatises which they prepare for the Publick. Besides, that excellent Prelate abovementioned was known to preach after a much more popular Manner in the City Congregations: And if, in those Parts of his Works, he be any where too obscure for the Understandings of many, who may be supposed to have been his Hearers; it ought to be numbered among his Omissions.

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The Fear of being thought Pedants hath been of pernicious Consequence to young Divines. This hath wholly taken many of them off from their severer Studies in the University; which they have exchanged for Plays, Poems, and Pamphlets, in order to qualify them for Tea-tables and Coffee-houses. This they usually call *Polite Conversation, knowing the World, and reading Men instead of Books*. These Accomplishments, when applied in the Pulpit, appear by a quaint, terse, florid Style, rounded into Periods and Cadences, commonly without either Propriety or Meaning. I have listened with my utmost Attention for half an Hour to an Orator of this Species, without being able to understand, much less to carry away, one single Sentence out of a whole Sermon. Others, to shew that their Studies have not been confined to Sciences, or antient Authors, will talk in the Style of a gaming Ordinary, and *White-Fryars**; where I suppose

* The Style of *White-Fryars* was that of Sharpers, Bullies, and other Fugitives from the Law. This Precinct, in 1709, obtained from King James a Charter of Exemption from Parish, Ward, and City Offices, except in the Militia: Being possessed thereof, the Inhabitants claimed afterwards a Power and Right to protect the Persons of Debtors, whereby the Place became filled with lawless Refugees of all Sorts, who grew to such a Height of Wickedness and Imprudence, that it was found necessary in King William's Time, by Act of Parliament, to suppress and bring them to Justice.

pose the Hearers can be little edified by the Terms of *Palming*, *Shuffling*, *Biting*, *Bamboozling*, and the like, if they have not been sometimes conversant among Pick-pockets and Sharpers. And truly, as they say, a Man is known by his Company; so it should seem, that a Man's Company may be known by his Manner of expressing himself, either in publick Assemblies, or private Conversation.

It would be endless to run over the several Defects of Style among us: I shall therefore say nothing of the *mean* and the *paltry*, (which are usually attended by the *fustian*) much less of the *slovenly* or *indecent*. Two Things I will just warn you against: The first is, the Frequency of flat unnecessary Epithets; and the other is, the Folly of using old thread-bare Phrases, which will often make you go out of your Way to find and apply them; are nauseous to rational Hearers, and will seldom express your Meaning as well as your own natural Words.

Although, as I have already observed, our *English* Tongue be too little cultivated in this Kingdom; yet the Faults are nine in ten owing to Affectation, and not the Want of Understanding. When a Man's Thoughts are clear, the properest Words will generally offer themselves first; and his own Judgment will direct him in what Order to place them,

them, so as they may be best understood. Where Men err against this Method, it is usually on Purpose, and to shew their Learning, their Oratory; their Politeness, or their Knowledge of the World. In short, that Simplicity, without which no human Performance can arrive to any great Perfection, is no where more eminently useful than in this.

I have been considering that Part of Oratory which relateth to the moving of the Passions: This, I observe, is in Esteem and Practice among some Church Divines, as well as among all the Preachers and Hearers of the *Fanatick* or *Enthusiastick* Strain. I will here deliver to you (perhaps with more Freedom than Prudence) my Opinion upon the Point.

The two great Orators of *Greece* and *Rome*, *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, although each of them a Leader, (or, as the *Greeks* call it, a *Demagogue*) in a popular State; yet seem to differ in their Practice upon this Branch of their Art: The former, who had to deal with a People of much more Politeness, Learning and Wit, laid the greatest Weight of his Oratory upon the Strength of his Arguments offered to their Understanding and Reason: Whereas, *Tully* considered the Dispositions of a sincere, more ignorant,

and less mercurial Nation, by dwelling almost entirely on the pathetick Part.

But the principal Thing to be remembered is, that the constant Design of both these Orators in all their Speeches, was to drive some one particular Point; either the Condemnation or Acquittal of an accused Person; a persuasive to War, the enforcing of a Law, and the like; which was determined upon the Spot, according as the Orators on either Side prevailed. And here it was often found of absolute Necessity to enflame or cool the Passions of the Audience; especially at *Rome*, where *Tully* spoke, and with whose Writings young Divines (I mean those among them who read old Authors) are more conversant than with those of *Demosthenes*; who, by many Degrees, excelled the other, at least as an Orator. But I do not see how this Talent of moving Passions can be of any great Use towards directing Christian Men in the Conduct of their Lives, at least in these Northern Climates; where, I am confident, the strongest Eloquence of that Kind will leave few Impressions upon any of our Spirits, deep enough to last until the next Morning, or rather until the next Meal.

But what hath chiefly put me out of Conceit with this moving Manner of Preaching, is the frequent Disappointment it meets with. I knew a Gentleman, who made it a Rule in
Reading,

Reading, to skip over all Sentences where he spied a Note of Admiration at the End. I believe, those Preachers who abound in *Epiphonemas*, if they look about them, would find one Part of their Congregation out of Countenance, and the other asleep; except, perhaps, an old Female Beggar or two in the Isles, who (if they be sincere) may probably groan at the Sound.

Nor is it a Wonder that this Expedient should so often miscarry, which requireth so much Art and Genius to arrive at any Perfection in it; as every Man will find, much sooner than learn, by consulting *Cicero* himself.

I therefore entreat you to make use of this Faculty (if you be ever so unfortunate as to think you have it) as seldom, and with as much Caution as you can; else I may probably have Occasion to say of you, as a great Person said of another upon this very Subject. A Lady asked him, coming out of Church, whether it were not a very moving Discourse? *Yes*, said he, *I was extremely sorry, for the Man is my Friend.*

If, in Company, you offer something for a Jest, and no Body secondeth you in your own Laughter, or seemeth to relish what you said; you may condemn their Taste, if you please, and appeal to better Judgments; but, in the mean Time, it must be agreed

you make a very indifferent Figure: And it is, at least, equally ridiculous to be disappointed in endeavouring to make other Folks grieve, as to make them laugh.

A plain convincing Reason may possibly operate upon the Mind both of a learned and ignorant Hearer, as long as they live; and will edify a thousand Times more than the Art of wetting the Handkerchiefs of a whole Congregation, if you were sure to attain it.

If your Arguments be strong, in God's Name, offer them in as moving a Manner as the Nature of the Subject will probably admit; wherein Reason, and good Advice, will be your safest Guides: But beware of letting the pathetick Part swallow up the rational; for, I suppose, *Philosophers* have long agreed, that Passion should never prevail over Reason.

As I take it, the two principal Branches of Preaching are, first to tell the People what is their Duty; and then to convince them that it is so. The Topicks for both these, we know, are brought from *Scripture* and *Reason*. Upon the former, I wish it were often practised to instruct the Hearers in the Limits, Extent, and Compass of every Duty, which requireth a good deal of Skill and Judgment: The other Branch is, I think, not so difficult. But what I would offer
upon

upon both is this; that it seemeth to be in the Power of a reasonable Clergyman, if he will be at the Pains, to make the most ignorant Man comprehend what is his Duty; and to convince him by Arguments, drawn to the Level of his Understanding, that he ought to perform it.

But I must remember, that my Design in this *Paper* was not so much to instruct you in your Business, either as a Clergyman, or a Preacher, as to warn you against some Mistakes, which are obvious to the Generality of Mankind, as well as to me; and we, who are Hearers, may be allowed to have some Opportunities in the Quality of being Standers-by. Only, perhaps, I may now again transgress, by desiring you to express the Heads of your Divisions in as few and clear Words, as you possibly can; otherwise, I, and many thousand others, will never be able to retain them, nor consequently to carry away a Syllable of the Sermon.

I shall now mention a Particular, wherein your whole Body will be certainly against me; and the Laity, almost to a Man, on my Side. However it came about, I cannot get over the Prejudice of taking some little Offence at the Clergy, for perpetually reading their Sermons; perhaps, my frequent hearing of Foreigners, who never make Use

of Notes, may have added to my Disgust. And I cannot but think, that whatever is read differeth as much from what is repeated without Book, as a Copy doth from an Original. At the same Time, I am highly sensible what an extreme Difficulty it would be upon you to alter this Method; and that, in such a Case, your Sermons would be much less valuable than they are, for want of Time to improve and correct them. I would therefore gladly come to a Compromise with you in this Matter, I knew a Clergyman of some Distinction, who appeared to deliver his Sermon without looking into his Notes, which, when I complimented him upon, he assured me, he could not repeat six Lines; but his Method was to write the whole Sermon in a large plain Hand, with all the Forms of Margin, Paragraph, marked Page and the like; then on *Sunday* Morning, he took Care to run it over five or six Times, which he could do in an Hour; and when he delivered it, by pretending to turn his Face from one Side to the other, he would (in his own Expression) pick up the Lines, and cheat his People, by making them believe he had it all by Heart. He farther added, that whenever he happened, by Neglect, to omit any of these Circumstances, the Vogue of the Parish was, *our Doctor gave us but an indifferent Sermon To-day.* Now,

Now, among us, many Clergymen act so directly contrary to this Method, that from a Habit of saving *Time* and *Paper*, which they acquired at the University, they write in so diminutive a Manner, with such frequent Blots and Interlineations, that they are hardly able to go on without perpetual Hesitations, or extemporary Expletives: And I desire to know what can be more inexcusable than to see a Divine, and a Scholar, at a Loss in reading his own Compositions; which, it is supposed, he hath been preparing with much *Pains* and *Thought*, for the Instruction of his People. The Want of a little more Care in this Article is the Cause of much ungraceful Behaviour. You will observe some Clergymen with their Heads held down, from the Beginning to the End, within an Inch of the Cushion, to read what is hardly legible; which, besides the untoward Manner, hinders them from making the best Advantage of their Voice: Others, again, have a Trick of popping up and down every Moment, from their *Paper* to the Audience, like an idle School-Boy on a Repetition-Day.

Let me intreat you, therefore, to add one Half-Crown a Year to the Article of *Paper*; to transcribe your Sermons in as large and plain a Manner as you can, and either make no Interlineations, or change the whole Leaf:

For we, your Hearers, would rather you should be less correct, than perpetually stammering; which I take to be one of the worst *Solecisms* in *Rhetorick*. And lastly, read your Sermon once or twice, for a few Days before you preach it. To which you will probably answer some Years hence, *That it was but just finished when the last Bell rang to Church*; and I shall readily believe, but not excuse you.

I cannot forbear warning you, in the most earnest Manner, against endeavouring at Wit in your Sermons: Because, by the strictest Computation, it is very near a Million to One, that you have none; and because too many of your Calling have consequently made themselves everlastingly ridiculous by attempting it. I remember several young Men in this Town, who could never leave the *Pulpit* under half a Dozen *Conceits*; and this Faculty adhered to those Gentlemen a longer or shorter Time, exactly in Proportion to their several Degrees of Dulness: Accordingly, I am told that some of them retain it to this Day. I heartily wish the Brood were at an End.

Before you enter into the common unsufferable Cant of taking all Occasions to disparage the Heathen *Philosophers*, I hope you will differ from some of your Brethren, by first enquiring what those *Philosophers*
can

can say for themselves. The System of Morality to be gathered out of the Writings or Sayings of those antient Sages, falleth undoubtedly very short of that delivered in the Gospel; and wanteth, besides, the Divine Sanction which our Saviour gave to his. Whatever is further related by the Evangelists, containeth chiefly Matters of Fact, and consequently of Faith; such as the Birth of Christ, his being the Messiah, his Miracles, his Death, Resurrection, and Ascension: None of which can properly come under the Appellation of human Wisdom, being intended only to make us wise unto Salvation. And therefore in this Point, nothing can be justly laid to the Charge of the *Philosophers*; further, than that they were ignorant of certain Facts which happened long after their Death. But I am deceived, if a better Comment could be any where collected upon the moral Part of the Gospel, than from the Writings of those excellent Men. Even that divine Precept of loving our Enemies, is at large insisted on by *Plato*; who putteth it, as I remember, into the Mouth of *Socrates*. And as to the Reproach of Heathenism, I doubt they had less of it than the corrupted *Jews*, in whose Time they lived. For it is a gross Piece of Ignorance among us to conceive, that in those polite and learned Ages, even Persons of
any

any tolerable Education, much less the wisest Philosophers, did acknowledge or worship any more than one Almighty Power, under several Denominations, to whom they allowed all those Attributes we ascribe to the Divinity. And, as I take it, human Comprehension reacheth no further: Neither did our Saviour think it necessary to explain to us the Nature of God; because, as I suppose, it would be impossible, without bestowing on us other Faculties than we possess at present. But the true Misery of the Heathen World appeareth to be what I before mentioned, the Want of a divine Sanction; without which, the Dictates of the Philosophers failed in the Point of Authority; and consequently the Bulk of Mankind lay, indeed, under a great Load of Ignorance, even in the Article of Morality; but the Philosophers themselves did not. Take the Matter in this Light, and it will afford Field enough for a Divine to enlarge on; by shewing the Advantages which the Christian World hath over the Heathen; and the absolute Necessity of divine Revelation, to make the Knowledge of the true God, and the Practice of Virtue, more universal in the World.

I am not ignorant how much I differ in this Opinion from some antient Fathers in the Church; who arguing against the Heathens,

thens, made it a principal Topick to decry their Philosophy, as much as they could: Which, I hope, is not altogether our present Case. Besides, it is to be considered, that those Fathers lived in the Decline of *Literature*; and in my Judgment, (who should be unwilling to give the least Offence) appear to be rather most excellent holy Persons, than of transcendent Genius and Learning. Their genuine Writings (for many of them have suffered extremely by spurious Additions) are of admirable Use for confirming the Truth of antient Doctrines and Discipline; by shewing the State and Practice of the primitive Church. But among such of them, as have fallen in my Way, I do not remember any, whose Manner of arguing or exhorting I could heartily recommend to the Imitation of a young Divine, when he is to speak from the Pulpit. Perhaps I judge too hastily, there being several of them, in whose Writings I have made very little Progress, and in others none at all. For I perused only such as were recommended to me, at a Time when I had more Leisure, and a better Disposition to read, than have since fallen to my Share.

To return then to the Heathen Philosophers: I hope you will not only give them Quarter, but make their Works a considerable Part of your Study. To these I will
venture

venture to add the principal Orators and Historians, and perhaps a few of the Poets : By the reading of which, you will soon discover your Mind and Thoughts to be enlarged, your Imagination extended and refined, your Judgment directed, your Admiration lessened, and your Fortitude encreased, All which Advantages must needs be of excellent Use to a Divine, whose Duty it is to preach and practise the Contempt of human Things.

I would say something concerning Quotations ; wherein I think you cannot be too sparing, except from Scripture, and the primitive Writers of the Church. As to the former, when you offer a Text as a Proof or an Illustration, we your Hearers expect to be fairly used ; and sometimes think we have Reason to complain, especially of you younger Divines ; which maketh us fear, that some of you conceive you have no more to do than to turn over a Concordance, and, there having found the principal Word, introduce as much of the Verse as will serve your Turn, although in Reality it maketh nothing for you. I do not altogether disapprove the Manner of interweaving Texts of Scripture through the Style of your Sermon ; wherein, however, I have sometimes observed great Instances of Indiscretion

cretion and Impropriety; against which I therefore venture to give you a Caution.

As to Quotations from antient Fathers, I think they are best brought in, to confirm some Opinion controverted by those who differ from us: In other Cases we give you full Power to adopt the Sentence for your own, rather than tell us, *as St. Austin excellently observeth*; but to mention modern Writers by Name, or use the Phrase of *a late excellent Prelate of our Church*, and the like, is altogether intolerable; and, for what Reason I know not, maketh every rational Hearer ashamed. Of no better Stamp is your *Heathen Philosopher*, and *famous Poet*, and *Romau Historian*; at least in common Congregations, who will rather believe you on your own Word, than on that of *Plato* or *Homer*.

I have lived to see *Greek* and *Latin* almost entirely driven from the Pulpit; of which I am heartily glad. The frequent Use of the latter was certainly a Remnant of Popery, which never admitted Scripture in the vulgar Language; and I wonder that Practice was never accordingly objected to us by the Fanaticks.

The Mention of Quotations puts me in Mind of Common-place Books, which have been long in Use by industrious young Divines, and, I hear, do still continue so; I
know

know they are very beneficial to Lawyers and Physicians, because they are Collections of Facts or Cases, whereupon a great Part of their several Faculties depend: Of these I have seen several, but never yet any written by a Clergyman; only from what I am informed, they generally are Extracts of theological and moral Sentences, drawn from Ecclesiastical and other Authors, reduced under proper Heads; usually begun, and, perhaps, finished, while the Collectors were young in the Church; as being intended for Materials or Nurseries to stock future Sermons. You will observe the wise Editors of antient Authors, when they meet a Sentence worthy of being distinguished, take special Care to have the first Word printed in Capital Letters, that you may not overlook it: Such, for Example, as the *Inconstancy of Fortune, the Goodness of Peace, the Excellency of Wisdom, the Certainty of Death; that Prosperity maketh Men insolent, and Adversity humble*; and the like eternal Truths, which every Ploughman knoweth well enough, although he never heard of *Aristotle* or *Plato*. If Theological Common-place Books be no better filled, I think they had better be laid aside: And I could wish, that Men of tolerable Intellectuals would rather trust to their own natural Reason, improved by a general Conversation with
Books,

Books, to enlarge on Points which they are supposed already to understand. If a rational Man readeth an excellent Author with just Application, he shall find himself extremely improved, and perhaps insensibly led to imitate that Author's Perfections; although in a little Time he should not remember one Word in the Book, nor even the Subject it handled: For, Books give the same Turn to our Thoughts and Way of Reasoning, that good and ill Company do to our Behaviour and Conversation; without either loading our Memories, or making us even sensible of the Change. And particularly, I have observed in Preaching, that no Men succeed better than those who trust entirely to the Stock or Fund of their own Reason; advanced, indeed, but not overlaid by Commerce with Books. Whoever only readeth, in order to transcribe wise and shining Remarks, without entering into the Spirit and Genius of the Author; as it is possible he will make no very judicious Extract, so he will be apt to trust to that Collection in all his Compositions; and be misled out of the regular Way of Thinking, in order to introduce those Materials which he hath been at the Pains to gather; and the Product of all this will be found a manifest incoherent Piece of Patchwork.

Some

Some Gentlemen, abounding in their University Erudition, are apt to fill their Sermons with philosophical Terms, and Notions of the metaphysical or abstracted Kind; which generally have one Advantage, to be equally understood by the Wise, the Vulgar, and the Preacher. I have been better entertained, and more informed by a Chapter in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, than by a long Discourse upon the *Will* and the *Intellect*, and *simple* or *complex Ideas*. Others, again, are fond of dilating on *Matter* and *Motion*, talk of the *fortuitous Concurrence of Atoms*, of *Theories*, and *Phænomena*; directly against the Advice of *St. Paul*, who yet appeareth to have been conversant enough in those Kind of Studies.

I do not find that you are any where directed in the Canons, or Articles, to attempt explaining the Mysteries of the Christian Religion. And, indeed, since Providence intended there should be Mysteries, I do not see how it can be agreeable to *Piety*, *Orthodoxy*, or *good Sense*, to go about such a Work. For, to me there seemeth to be a manifest Dilemma in the Case: If you explain them, they are Mysteries no longer; if you fail, you have laboured to no Purpose. What I should think most reasonable and safe for you to do upon this Occasion, is upon solemn Days to deliver the Doctrine as the
Church

Church holdeth it, and confirm it by Scripture. For my Part, having considered the Matter impartially, I can see no great Reason which those Gentlemen, you call the *Free-thinkers*, can have for their Clamour against religious Mysteries; since it is plain, they were not invented by the Clergy, to whom they bring no Profit, nor acquire any Honour. For every Clergyman is ready, either to tell us the utmost he knoweth, or to confess that he doth not understand them: Neither is it strange, that there should be Mysteries in Divinity, as well as in the commonest Operations of Nature.

And here I am at a Loss what to say, upon the frequent Custom of preaching against *Atbeism*, *Deism*, *Free-thinking*, and the like; as young Divines are particularly fond of doing, especially when they exercise their Talent in Churches, frequented by People of Quality; which, as it is but an ill Compliment to the Audience, so I am under some Doubt whether it answers the End. Because, Persons under those Imputations are generally no great Frequenters of Churches, and so the Congregation is but little edified for the Sake of three or four Fools, who are past Grace. Neither do I think it any Part of *Prudence*, to perplex the Minds of well-disposed People with Doubts, which probably would never have

otherwise come into their Heads. But I am of Opinion, and dare be positive, in it, that not one in a hundred of those, who pretend to be *Free-thinkers*, are really so in their Hearts. For there is one Observation which I never knew to fail, and I desire you will examine it in the Course of your Life; that no Gentleman of a liberal Education, and regular in his Morals, did ever profess himself a *Free-thinker*: Where then are these Kind of People to be found? Amongst the worst Part of the Soldiery, made up of Pages, younger Brothers of obscure Families, and others of desperate Fortunes; or else among idle Town Fops; and now and then a drunken 'Squire of the Country. Therefore, nothing can be plainer, than that Ignorance and Vice are two Ingredients absolutely necessary in the Composition of those you generally call *Free-thinkers*; who, in Propriety of Speech, *are no Thinkers at all*. And, since I am in the Way of it, pray consider one Thing farther: As young as you are, you cannot but have already observed, what a violent Run there is among too many weak People against University Education: Be firmly assured, that the whole Cry is made up by those, who were either never sent to a College, or through their Irregularities and Stupidity never made the least Improvement while they were there.

there. I have above forty of the latter now in my Eye; several of them in this Town, whose *Learning, Manners, Temperance, Probity, Good-nature, and Politicks*, are all of a Piece. Others of them in the Country, oppressing their Tenants, tyrannizing over the Neighbourhood, cheating the Vicar, talking Nonsense, and getting drunk at the Sessions. It is from such Seminaries as these that the World is provided with the several Tribes and Denominations of *Free-thinkers*; who, in my Judgment are not to be reformed by Arguments offered to prove the Truth of the *Christian Religion*; because, *Reasoning* will never make a Man correct an ill Opinion, which by *Reasoning* he never acquired: For, in the Course of Things, Men always grow vicious before they become Unbelievers: But, if you could once convince the Town or Country Profligate, by Topicks drawn from the View of their own *Quiet, Reputation, Health, and Advantage*, their *Infidelity* would soon drop off: This, I confess, is no easy Task; because it is almost in a literal Sense to *fight with Beasts*. Now, to make it clear, that we are to look for no other Original of this *Infidelity*, whereof Divines so much complain, it is allowed on all Hands, that the People of *England* are more corrupt in their *Morals*, than any other Nation at this Day under the *Sun*:

And this Corruption is manifestly owing to other Causes, both *numerous* and *obvious*, much more than to the Publication of irreligious Books; which, indeed, are but the Consequence of the former. For all the Writers against Christianity, since the Revolution, have been of the lowest Rank among Men, in regard to *Literature*, *Wit*, and good *Sense*; and, upon that Account, are wholly unqualified to propagate *Heresies*, unless among People already abandoned.

In an Age where every Thing disliked by those, who think with the Majority, is called *Disaffection*, it may perhaps be ill interpreted, when I venture to tell you, that this universal Depravation of *Manners*, is owing to the perpetual bandying of *Factions* among us for thirty Years past; when, without weighing the *Motives* of *Justice*, *Law*, *Conscience*, or *Honour*, every Man adjusteth his *Principles* to those of the *Party* he hath chosen, and among whom he may best find his own Account: But, by reason of our frequent Vicissitudes, Men, who were impatient to be out of Play, have been forced to recant, or at least to reconcile their former Tenets with every new System of Administration. Add to this, that the old fundamental Custom of annual Parliaments being wholly laid aside, and Elections growing chargeable; since Gentlemen found that

that their Country *Seats* brought them in less than a *Seat* in the House; the Voters, *that is to say*, the Bulk of the common People, have been universally seduced into *Bribery, Perjury, Drunkenness, Malice, and Slander.*

Not to be further tedious, or rather invidious; these are a few, among other Causes, which have contributed to the Ruin of our *Morals*, and consequently to the Contempt of *Religion*. For, imagine to yourself, if you please, a landed Youth, whom his Mother would never suffer to look into a Book, for fear of spoiling his Eyes, got into Parliament, and observing all Enemies to the Clergy heard with the utmost Applause; what Notions he must imbibe; how readily he will join in the Cry; what an Esteem he will conceive of himself; and what a Contempt he must entertain; not only for his Vicar at Home, but for the whole Order.

I therefore again conclude, that the Trade of *Infidelity* hath been taken up only for an Expedient to keep in Countenance that universal Corruption of *Morals*, which many other Causes first contributed to introduce and to cultivate. And thus, Mr. *Hobbes's* Saying upon Reason may be much more properly applied to Religion: That, *if Religion will be against a Man, a Man will be against Religion.* Although, after all, I

have heard a Profligate offer much stronger Arguments against paying his Debts, than ever he was known to do against *Christianity*; indeed, the Reason was, because in that Juncture he happened to be closer pressed by the *Bailiff* than the *Parson*.

Ignorance may, perhaps, be the *Mother* of *Superstition*; but *Experience* hath not proved it to be so of *Devotion*: For *Christianity* always made the most easy and quickest Progress in civilized Countries. I mention this, because it is affirmed, that the Clergy are in most Credit where Ignorance prevaiileth, (and surely this Kingdom would be called the *Paradise* of Clergymen, if that Opinion were true) for which they instance *England* in the Times of *Popery*. But whoever knoweth any Thing of three or four Centuries before the Reformation will find, the little Learning then stirring was more equally divided between the *English* Clergy and Laity, than it is at present. There were several famous Lawyers in that *Period*, whose Writings are still in the highest Repute; and some *Historians*, and *Poets*, who were not of the *Church*. Whereas, now-adays, our Education is so corrupted, that you will hardly find a young Person of Quality with the least Tincture of Knowledge;

ledge; at the same Time that * many of the Clergy were never more learned, or so scurvily treated. Here among us, at least, a Man of Letters, out of the three Professions, is almost a Prodigy. And those few who have preserved any Rudiments of Learning, are (except, perhaps, one or two Smatterers) the Clergy's Friends to a Man: For, I dare appeal to any Clergyman in this Kingdom, whether the greatest Dunce in his Parish be not always the most proud, wicked, fraudulent, and intractable of his Flock.

I think the Clergy have almost given over perplexing themselves and their Hearers, with abstruse Points of Predestination, Election, and the like; at least, it is Time they should; and, therefore, I shall not trouble you further upon this Head.

I have now said all I could think convenient with relation to your Conduct in the Pulpit. Your Behaviour in the World is another Scene, upon which I shall readily offer you my Thoughts, if you appear to desire them from me, by your Approbation

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* *N. B.* This Discourse was written fourteen Years ago; since which Time, the Case is extremely altered by Deaths and Successions.

of what I have here written; if not, I have
already troubled you too much.

I am, SIR,

Your affectionate

Friend and Servant.

January 9,
1729.

THE

The WONDERFUL
W O N D E R
O F
W O N D E R S.

Written in the Year 1720.

THERE is a certain Person lately arrived at this City, whom it is very proper the World should be informed of. His Character may, perhaps, be thought very inconsistent, improbable, and unnatural: However, I intend to draw it with the utmost Regard to Truth. This I am the better

better qualified to do, because he is a Sort of *Dependant* upon our Family, and *almost* of the same *Age*; although I cannot directly say I have ever *seen* him. He is a Native of this Country, and hath lived long among us; but what appeareth wonderful, and hardly credible, was never seen before by any Mortal.

It is true, indeed, he always chuses the *lowest* Place in Company, and contriveth it so, to keep *out of Sight*. It is reported, however, that in his younger Days he was frequently *exposed to View*; but always against his Will, and was fure to *smart* for it.

As to his Family; he came into the World a younger Brother, being, of *six* Children, the *fourth* in order of Birth*; of which the eldest is now *Head* of the House; the second and third carry *Arms*; but the two youngest are only *Footmen*: Some, indeed, add, that he hath likewise a Twin-Brother, who liveth *over against* him, and keeps a *Victualling-House*†: He has the Reputation to be a *close, griping, squeezing* Fellow; and that when his Bags are *full*, he is often *needy*; yet, when the Fit taketh him, as fast as he gets, he *lets it fly*.

When

* He alludes to the Manner of our Birth, the Head and Arms appearing before the Posteriors and the two Feet, which he calls the Footmen.

† The Belly, which receives and digests our Nourishment.

When in *Office*, no ðne *dischargeth* himself, or *dotb his Business better*. He hath sometimes *strained hard* for an honest Livelihood; and never got a *Bit*, until every one else had *done*.

One Practice appeareth very blameable in him; that every Morning he privately frequenteth *unclean Houses*, where any modest Person would blush to be seen. And although this be generally known, yet the World, as censorious as it is, hath been so kind to overlook this Infirmary in him. To deal impartially, it must be granted, that he is too great a Lover of himself, and very often consulteth his own *Ease*, at the Expence of his best Friends. But this is one of his *blind Sides*; and the best of Men, I fear, are not without *them*.

He hath been constituted by the *higher Powers* in the Station of *Receiver-General*; in which Employment, some have censured him for playing *fast and loose*. He is likewise *Overseer* of the *Golden Mines*, which he daily inspecteth when his Health will permit him.

He was long bred under a *Master of Arts**, who instilled *good Principles* in him, but these were soon *corrupted*. I know not whether it deserveth Mention, that he is so very capricious, as to take it for an equal Affront

* PERSIUS; *Magister Artis, ingenique largitor venter*.

front to talk either of *kissing*, or *kicking* him; which hath occasioned a thousand Quarrels: However, no Body ever hath been so great a Sufferer for Faults, which he neither was, nor possibly could be guilty of.

In his Religion he hath thus much of the Quaker, that he standeth *always covered*, even in the Presence of the King: In most other Points a perfect *Idolater* *, although he endeavoureth to *conceal* it. For he is known to offer daily Sacrifices to certain *Subterraneous Nymphs*, whom he worshipeth in an *humble Posture*, *prone on his Face*, and *stript stark naked*; and so leaveth his *Offerings behind him*, which the *Priests* † of those *Goddeesses* are careful enough to remove upon certain Seasons, with the utmost Privacy at *Midnight*, and from thence maintain themselves and Families. In all *urgent Necessities* and *Pressures*, he applieth himself to these Deities, and sometimes even in the *Streets* and *High-ways*; from an Opinion that those Powers have an Influence in all Places; although their peculiar Residence be in *Caverns* under Ground. Upon these *Occasions*,
the

* Alludes to the Sacrifice offered by the *Romans* to the Goddess *Cloacina*.

† Gold-finders, who perform their Office in the Night Time: But the Author further seemeth to have an Eye to the Custom of the *Heathen* Priests stealing the Offerings in the Night; of which see more in the Story of *Bell* and the *Dragon*.

the fairest Ladies will not refuse to *lend* their *Hands* to assist him: For, although they are ashamed to have him seen in their Company, or even so much as to hear him *named*; yet it is well known, that he is one of their *constant Followers*.

In *Politicks*, he always submitteth to what is *uppermost*; but he peruseth Pamphlets on *both Sides* with great Impartiality, although seldom until *every Body else hath done with them*.

His *Learning* is of a mixed Kind; and he may properly be called a *Helluo librorum*, or another *Jacobus de Voraigne*; although his Studies are chiefly confined to *Schoolmen*, *Commentators*, and *German Divines*; together with *modern Poetry* and *Criticks*: And he is an *Atomick* Philosopher, strongly maintaining a *Void* in *Nature*, which he seemeth to have fairly proved by many *Experiments*.

I shall now proceed to describe some peculiar *Qualities*, which in several Instances seem to distinguish this Person from the common Race of other Mortals.

His *Grandfather* was a Member of the *Rump* Parliament, as the *Grandson* is of the *present*; where he often *riseth*, sometimes *grumbles*, but never *speaks*. However, he lets nothing pass *willingly*, but what is *well digested*. His *Courage* is indisputable, for he will take the boldest Man alive *by the Nose*.

He

He is generally the *first a Bed*, in the Family, and the *last up*; which is to be lamented; because when he happeneth to *rise before* the rest, it hath been thought to forebode some *good Fortune to his Superiors*.

As Wisdom is acquired by Age, so by every new *Wrinkle* * in his *Face* he is reported to gain some *new Knowledge*.

In him we may observe the true Effects and Consequences of *Tyranny* in a State: For, as he is a great *Oppressor* of all *below* him, so there is no Body more *oppressed* by those *above* him: Yet in his Time he hath been so highly in Favour, that many *illustrious* Persons have been entirely indebted to *him* for their *Preferments*.

He hath discovered from his own Experience the true *Point*, wherein all human Actions, Projects, and Designs do chiefly *terminate*; and how *mean* and *ordid* they are *at the Bottom*.

It behoves the Publick to keep him *quiet*; for his *frequent Murmurs* are a certain Sign of *intestine Tumults*.

No Philosopher ever lamented more the Luxury for which these Nations are so justly taxed; it hath been known to cost him
Tears

* This refers to a Proverb----“*You have one Wrinkle in your A—se more than you had before.*”

*Tears of Blood** : For in his own Nature he is far from being *profuse* ; although, indeed, he never stayeth a Night at a Gentleman's House without *leaving some Thing behind him*.

He receiveth, with great Submission, whatever his Patrons think fit to give him, and when they lay *heavy Burthens* upon him, which is frequent enough, he gets rid of them as soon as he can ; but not without *some Labour* and *much Grumbling*.

He is a perpetual *Hanger-on* ; yet no Body knoweth how to be *without him*. He patiently suffereth himself to be *kept under*, but loveth to be well used ; and, in that Case, will sacrifice his *Vitals* to give you *Ease* ; and he hath hardly one Acquaintance for whom he hath not been *bound* : yet, as far as we can find, was never known to *lose* any Thing by it.

He is observed to be very *unquiet* † in the Company of a *Frenchman* in *new Cloaths*, or a young *Coquet*.

He is, in short, the Subject of much *Mirth* and *Raillery*, which he seemeth to take well enough ; although it hath not been observed, that ever any *good Thing* came from himself.

There

* *Hemorrhoids*, according to the Physicians, are a frequent Consequence of Intemperance.

† Their Tails being generally observed to be most restless.

There is so general an Opinion of his Justice, that sometimes very *hard Cases* are left to his Decision : And while he *sitteth* upon them, he carrieth himself exactly *even between both Sides*, except where some *knotty Point* ariseth ; and then he is observed to *lean* a little to the *Right*, or *Left*, as the *Matter* inclineth him ; but his Reasons for it are so manifest and convincing, that every Man approves them.

THE

THE
W O N D E R
Of All the
W O N D E R S,
T H A T
Ever the World wondered at.

Written in the Year 1721.

To all PERSONS of QUALITY and Others.

NEWLY arrived at this City, the famous
Artist *John-Emanuel Schoitz*, who, to
the great Surprize and Satisfaction of all
Spectators, is ready to do the following won-
derful Performances, the like never seen
before in this Kingdom.

He will heat a Bar of Iron red hot, and
thrust it into a Barrel of Gunpowder before
all the Company, and it shall not take Fire.

VOL. I.

A a

He

— He lets any Gentleman charge a Blunderbuss, with the same Gunpowder and twelve Leaden Bullets; which Blunderbuss the said Artist dischargeth full in the Face of the said Company, without doing the least Hurt; the Bullets sticking in the Wall behind them.

He taketh any Gentleman's own Sword, and runs it through the said Gentleman's Body, so that the Point appeareth bloody at the Back, to all the Spectators; then he taketh out the Sword, wipeth it clean, and returneth it to the Owner; who receiveth no Manner of Hurt.

He taketh a Pot of scalding Oil, and throweth it by great Ladles full directly at the Ladies, without spoiling their Cloaths or burning their Skins.

— He taketh any Person of Quality's Child, from two Years old to six, and lets the Child's own Father or Mother take a Pike in their Hands; then the Artist takes the Child in his Arms and tosseth it upon the Point of the Pike, where it sticketh, to the great Satisfaction of all Spectators; and is then taken off without so much as an Hole in his Coat.

He mounts upon a Scaffold, just over the Spectators, and from thence throweth down a great Quantity of large Tiles and Stones, which fall like so many Pillows, without so much

much as discomposing either Perukes or Head-dresses.

He taketh any Person of Quality up to the said Scaffold, which Person pulleth off his Shoes and leapeth nine Feet directly down on a Board prepared on Purpose, full of sharp Spikes six Inches long, without hurting his Feet, or damaging his Stockings.

He places the said Board on a Chair, upon which a Lady sitteth down with another Lady upon her Lap; while the Spikes, instead of entering into the under Lady's Flesh, will feel like a Velvet Cushion.

He taketh any Person of Quality's Footman; tieth a Rope about his bare Neck, and draweth him up by Pullies to the Cieling, and there keepeth him hanging as long as his Master or the Company pleases; the said Footman, to the Wonder and Delight of all Beholders, with a Pot of Ale in one Hand, and a Pipe in the other; and when he is let down there will not appear the least Mark of a Cord about his Neck.

He bids a Lady's Maid put her Finger into a Cup of clear Liquor like Water; upon which her Face and both her Hands are immediately withered, like an old Woman of Fourscore: Her Belly swelleth as if she were within a Week of her Time, and her Legs are as thick as Mill-Posts; but upon putting

her Finger into another Cup, she becometh as young and handsome as she was before.

He giveth any Gentleman Leave to drive forty Twelve-penny Nails up to the Head in a Porter's Backside; and then he places the said Porter on a Loadstone Chair, which draweth out every Nail, and the Porter feelth no Pain.

He likewise draws the Teeth of Half a Dozen Gentlemen; mixeth and jumbles them in a Hat; giveth any Person Leave to blindfold him, while he returneth each their own, and fixes them as well as ever.

With his Fore-finger and Thumb he thrusteth several Gentlemens and Ladies Eyes out of their Heads, without the least Pain; at which Time they see an unspeakable Number of beautiful Colours; and after they are entertained to the full, he places them again in their proper Sockets, without any Damage to the Sight.

He lets any Gentleman drink a Quart of hot melted Lead, and by a Draught of prepared Liquor, of which he taketh Part himself, he maketh the said Lead pass through the said Gentleman before all the Spectators, without any Damage: After which, it is produced in a Cake to the Company.

With many other wonderful Performances of Art, too tedious here to mention.

The

The said Artist hath performed before most Kings and Princes in *Europe*, with great Applause.

He performeth every Day (except *Sundays*) from Ten of the Clock to One in the Forenoon; and from Four until Seven in the Evening, at the new Inn in *Smithfield*.

The first Seat a *British* Crown, the second a *British* Half-Crown, and the lowest a *British* Shilling.

N. B. The best Hands in Town are to play at the said Show.

Aa3 A LET-

A
L E T T E R
T O A
Y O U N G L A D Y,
O N H E R
M A R R I A G E.

Written in the Year 1723.

M A D A M,

THE Hurry and Impertinence of receiving and paying Visits on Account of your Marriage being now over, you are beginning to enter into a Course of Life, where you will want much Advice to divert you from falling into many Errors, Fopperies, and Follies to which your Sex is subject. I have always borne an entire Friendship to your * Father and Mother; and the Person

* Dr. Staunton, a Master in Chancery.

Person they have chosen for your * Husband hath been for some Years past my particular Favourite. I have long wished you might come together, because I hoped, that from the Goodness of your Disposition, and by following the Counsel of wise Friends, you might in Time make yourself worthy of him. Your Parents were so far in the Right, that they did not produce you much into the World; whereby you avoided many wrong Steps which others have taken; and have fewer ill Impressions to be removed: But they failed, as it is generally the Case, in too much neglecting to cultivate your Mind; without which it is impossible to acquire or preserve the Friendship and Esteem of a wise Man, who soon groweth weary of acting the Lover, and treating his Wife like a Mistress; but wanteth a reasonable Companion, and a true Friend through every Stage of his Life. It must be therefore your Business to qualify yourself for those Offices; wherein I will not fail to be your Director as long as I shall think you deserve it, by letting you know how you are to act, and what you ought to avoid.

And beware of despising or neglecting my Instructions, whereon will depend not only

A a 4

your

* *John Rochfort*, Esq; second Son of the Lord Chief Baron.

your making a good Figure in the World, but your own real Happiness, as well as that of the Person who ought to be the dearest to you.

I must therefore desire you in the first Place to be very slow in changing the modest Behaviour of a Virgin; It is usual in young Wives, before they have been many Weeks married, to assume a bold, forward Look and Manner of Talking, as if they intended to signify in all Companies that they were no longer Girls, and consequently that their whole Demeanor, before they got a Husband, was all but a Countenance and Constraint upon their Nature: Whereas, I suppose, if the Votes of wise Men were gathered, a very great Majority would be in Favour of those Ladies who, after they were entered into that State, rather chose to double their Portion of Modesty and Reservedness.

I must likewise warn you strictly against the least Degree of Fondness to your Husband before any Witneses whatever, even before your nearest Relations, or the very Maids of your Chamber. This Proceeding is so extremely odious and disgustful to all who have either good Breeding or good Sense, that they assign two very unamiable Reasons for it: The one is gross Hypocrisy, and the other hath too bad a Name to mention. If there is any Difference to be made,
your

your Husband is the lowest Person in Company, either at Home or Abroad; and every Gentleman present hath a better Claim to all Marks of Civility and Distinction from you. Conceal your Esteem and Love in your own Breast, and reserve your kind Looks and Language for private Hours; which are so many in the Four and Twenty, that they will afford Time to employ a Passion as exalted as any that was ever described in a *French Romance*.

Upon this Head, I should likewise advise you to differ in Practice from those Ladies who affect Abundance of Uneasiness while their Husbands are Abroad; start with every Knock at the Door, and ring the Bell incessantly for their Servants to let in their Master; will not eat a Bit at Dinner or Supper if their Husband happen to stay out; and receive him at his Return with such a Medley of Chiding and Kindness, and catechizing him where he hath been; that a Shrew from *Billingsgate* would be a more easy and eligible Companion.

Of the same Leaven are those Wives, who, when their Husbands have gone a Journey, must have a Letter every Post, upon Pain of Fits and Hystericks; and a Day must be fixed for their Return home, without the least Allowance for Business, or Sickness, or Accidents, or Weather: Upon which,

which, I can only say, that, in my Observation, those Ladies, who are apt to make the greatest Clutter upon such Occasions, would liberally have paid a Messenger for bringing them News, that their Husbands had broken their Necks on the Road.

You will perhaps be offended, when I advise you to abate a little of that violent Passion for fine Cloaths so predominant in your Sex. It is somewhat hard, that ours, for whose Sake you wear them, are not admitted to be of your Council: I may venture to assure you, that we will make an Abatement at any Time of four Pounds a Yard in a Brocade, if the Ladies will but allow a suitable Addition of Care in the * Cleanliness and Sweetness of their Persons: For, the satyrical Part of Mankind will needs believe, that it is not impossible to be very fine and very filthy; and that the Capacities of a Lady are sometimes apt to fall short in cultivating Cleanliness and Finery together. I shall only add, upon so tender a Subject, what a pleasant Gentleman said concerning a silly Woman of Quality; that nothing could make her supportable but cutting off her Head; for his Ears were offended by her

* See the *Lady's Dressing-Room*, which was wrote and published in *London* before it was inserted in the Author's Works.

her Tongue, and his Nose by her Hair and Teeth.

I am wholly at a Loss how to advise you in the Choice of Company; which, however, is a Point of as great Importance as any in your Life. If your general Acquaintance be among Ladies who are your Equals or Superiors, provided they have nothing of what is commonly called an ill Reputation, you think you are safe; and this in the Style of the World will pass for good Company. Whereas, I am afraid it will be hard for you to pick out one Female-Acquaintance in this Town, from whom you may not be in manifest Danger of contracting some Foppery, Affectation, Vanity, Folly, or Vice. Your only safe Way of conversing with them, is by a firm Resolution to proceed, in your Practice and Behaviour, directly contrary to whatever they shall say or do: And this I take to be a good general Rule, with very few Exceptions. For Instance, in the Doctrines they usually deliver to young married Women for managing their Husbands; their several Accounts of their own Conduct in that Particular, to recommend it to your Imitation; the Reflections they make upon others of their Sex for acting differently; their Directions how to come off with Victory upon any Dispute or Quarrel you may have with your Husband; the Arts by which
you

you may discover and practise upon his weak Side ; when to work by Flattery and Insinuation ; when to melt him with Tears ; and when to engage him with a high Hand. In these, and a thousand other Cases, it will be prudent to retain as many of their Lectures in your Memory as you can, and then determine to act in full Opposition to them all.

I hope your Husband will interpose his Authority to limit you in the Trade of Visiting ; Half a Dozen Fools are in all Conscience as many as you should require ; and it will be sufficient for you to see them twice a Year : For I think the Fashion doth not exact that Visits should be paid to Friends.

I advise that your Company at Home should consist of Men rather than Women. To say the Truth, I never yet knew a tolerable Woman to be fond of her own Sex : I confess, when both are mixed and well chosen, and put their best Qualities forward, there may be an Intercourse of Civility and Good-will ; which, with the Addition of some Degree of Sense, can make Conversation or any Amusement agreeable. But a Knot of Ladies, got together by themselves, is a very School of Impertinence and Detraction ; and it is well if those be the worst.

Let your Men-Acquaintance be of your Husband's Choice, and not recommended to you by any She-Companions ; because they
will

will certainly fix a Coxcomb upon you; and it will cost you some Time and Pains before you can arrive at the Knowledge of distinguishing such a one from a Man of Sense.

Never take a favourite Waiting-Maid into your Cabinet-Council, to entertain you with Histories of those Ladies whom she hath formerly served; of their Diversion and their Dresses; to insinuate how great a Fortune you brought, and how little you are allowed to squander; to appeal to her from your Husband, and to be determined by her Judgment, because you are sure it will be always for you; to receive and discard Servants by her Approbation, or Dislike; to engage you by her Insinuations into Misunderstandings with your best Friends; to represent all Things in false Colours, and to be the common Emissary of Scandal.

But, the grand Affair of your Life will be to gain and preserve the Friendship and Esteem of your Husband. You are married to a Man of good Education and Learning, of an excellent Understanding, and an exact Taste. It is true, and it is happy for you, that these Qualities in him are adorned with great Modesty, a most amiable Sweetness of Temper, and an unusual Disposition to Sobriety and Virtue: But neither Good-nature, nor Virtue, will suffer him to esteem you against his Judgment; and although he be

not

not capable of using you ill, yet you will, in Time, grow a Thing indifferent, and perhaps contemptible; unless you can supply the Loss of Youth and Beauty with more durable Qualities. You have but a very few Years to be young and handsome in the Eyes of the World; and as few Months to be so in the Eyes of a Husband, who is not a Fool; for, I hope, you do not still dream of Charms and Raptures; which Marriage ever did, and ever will put a sudden End to. Besides, yours was a Match of Prudence, and common good Liking; without any Mixture of that ridiculous Passion which hath no Being, but in Play-books and Romances.

You must, therefore, use all Endeavours to attain to some Degree of those Accomplishments, which your Husband most valueth in other People, and for which he is most valued himself. You must improve your Mind, by closely pursuing such a Method of Study, as I shall direct or approve of. You must get a Collection of History and Travels, which I will recommend to you; and spend some Hours every Day in reading them, and making Extracts from them, if your Memory be weak. You must invite Persons of Knowledge and Understanding to an Acquaintance with you, by whose Conversation you may learn to
correct

correct your Taste and Judgment: And when you can bring yourself to comprehend and relish the good Sense of others, you will arrive, in Time, to think rightly yourself, and to become a reasonable and agreeable Companion. This must produce in your Husband a true rational Love and Esteem for you, which old Age will not diminish. He will have a Regard for your Judgment and Opinion in Matters of the greatest Weight; you will be able to entertain each other, without a third Person to relieve you, by finding Discourse. The Endowments of your Mind will even make your Person more agreeable to him; and when you are alone, your Time will not lie heavy upon your Hands, for want of some trifling Amusement.

As little Respect as I have for the Generality of your Sex, it hath sometimes moved me with Pity, to see the Lady of the House forced to withdraw immediately after Dinner, and this in Families where there is not much Drinking; as if it were an established Maxim, that Women are incapable of all Conversation. In a Room where both Sexes meet, if the Men are discoursing upon any general Subject, the Ladies never think it their Business to partake in what passeth; but, in a separate Club, entertain each other with the Price and Choice of Lace and Silk,
and

and what Dresses they liked, or disapproved at the Church, or the Play-house. And when you are among yourselves, how naturally, after the first Compliments, do you apply your Hands to each others Lappets, and Ruffles, and Mantuas; as if the whole Business of your Lives, and the publick Concern of the World, depended upon the Cut or Colour of your Petticoats? As Divines say, that some People take more Pains to be damned, than it would cost them to be saved; so your Sex employeth more Thought, Memory, and Application to be Fools, than would serve to make them wise and useful. When I reflect on this, I cannot conceive you to be human Creatures, but a Sort of Species hardly a Degree above a Monkey; who hath more diverting Tricks than any of you; is an Animal less mischievous and expensive; might, in Time, be a tolerable Critick in Velvet and Brocade; and, for ought I know, would equally become them.

I would have you look upon Finery as a necessary Folly, which all great Ladies did whom I have ever known; I do not desire you to be out of the Fashion, but to be the last and least in it: I expect that your Dress shall be one Degree lower than your Fortune can afford: And, in your own Heart, I would wish you to be an utter Contemner
of

of all Distinctions which a finer Petticoat can give you; because, it will neither make you richer, handsomer, younger, better-natured, more virtuous, or wise, than if it hung upon a Peg.

If you are in Company with Men of Learning; although they happen to discourse of Arts and Sciences out of your Compass, yet you will gather more Advantage by listening to them, than from all the Nonsense and Frippery of your own Sex: But, if they be Men of Breeding as well as Learning, they will seldom engage in any Conversation where you ought not to be a Hearer, and in Time have your Part. If they talk of the Manners and Customs of the several Kingdoms of *Europe*; of Travels into remote Nations; of the State of their own Country; or of the great Men and Actions of *Greece* and *Rome*: If they give their Judgment upon *English* and *French* Writers, either in Verse or Prose; or of the Nature and Limits of Virtue and Vice; it is a Shame for an *English* Lady not to relish such Discourses, not to improve by them, and endeavour, by Reading and Information, to have her Share in those Entertainments; rather than turn aside, as it is the usual Custom, and consult with the Woman who sits next her about a new Cargo of Fans.

It is a little hard, that not one Gentleman's Daughter in a Thousand should be brought to read, or understand her own natural Tongue, or be Judge of the easiest Books that are written in it; as any one may find, who can have the Patience to hear them, when they are disposed to mangle a Play or Novel, where the least Word out of the common Road is sure to disconcert them; and it is no Wonder, when they are not so much as taught to spell in their Childhood, nor can ever attain to it in their whole Lives. I advise you, therefore, to read aloud, more or less, every Day to your Husband, if he will permit you, or to any other Friend, (but not a Female one) who is able to set you right: And as for Spelling, you may compass it in Time, by making Collections from the Books you read.

I know very well, that those who are commonly called learned Women, have lost all Manner of Credit by their impertinent Talkativeness, and Conceit of themselves: But there is an easy Remedy for this; if you once consider, that, after all the Pains you may be at, you never can arrive, in Point of Learning, to the Perfection of a School Boy. But the Reading I would advise you to, is only for Improvement of your own good Sense, which will never fail
of

of being mended by Discretion. It is a wrong Method, and ill Choice of Books, that make those learned Ladies just so much the worse for what they have read. And, therefore, it shall be my Care to direct you better; a Task for which I take myself to be not ill qualified; because I have spent more Time, and have had more Opportunities than many others, to observe and discover from what Sources the various Follies of Women are derived.

Pray observe, how insignificant Things are the common Race of Ladies, when they have passed their Youth and Beauty; how contemptible they appear to the Men, and yet more contemptible to the younger Part of their own Sex; and have no Relief but in passing their Afternoons in Visits, where they are never acceptable; and their Evenings at Cards among each other; while the former Part of the Day is spent in Spleen and Envy, or in vain Endeavours to repair, by Art and Dress, the Ruins of Time: Whereas, I have known Ladies at Sixty, to whom all the polite Part of the Court and Town paid their Addresses, without any further View than that of enjoying the Pleasure of their Conversation.

I am ignorant of any one Quality that is amiable in a Man, which is not equally so in a Woman. I do not except even Modesty,

deftly, and Gentlenefs of Nature. Nor do I know one Vice or Folly, which is not equally deteftable in both. There is, indeed, one Infirmary which is generally allowed you, I mean that of Cowardice. Yet there fhould feem to be something very capricious, that when Women profefs their Admiration for a Colonel or a Captain, on Account of his Valour, they fhould fancy it a very graceful becoming Quality in themfelves to be afraid of their own Shadows; to fcream in a Barge, when the Weather is calmef, or in a Coach at the Ring; to run from a Cow at an hundred Yards Difance; to fall into Fits at the Sight of a Spider, an Earwig, or a Frog. At leaft, if Cowardice be a Sign of Cruelty, (as it is generally granted) I can hardly think it an Accomplifhment fo defireable, as to be thought worthy of improving by Affectation.

And, as the fame Virtues equally become both Sexes; fo there is no Quality whereby Women endeavour to diftinguifh themfelves from Men, for which they are not juft fo much the worfe; except that only of Reservednefs; which, however, as you generally manage it, is nothing elfe but Affectation or Hypocrify. For, as you cannot too much difcountenance thofe of our Sex, who prefume to take unbecoming Liberties before you; fo you ought to be wholly uncon-
ftrained

strained in the Company of deserving Men, when you have had sufficient Experience of their Discretion.

There is never wanting in this Town a Tribe of bold, swaggering, rattling Ladies, whose Talents pass among Coxcombs for Wit and Humour : Their Excellency lieth in rude choquing Expressions, and what they call *running a Man down*. If a Gentleman in their Company happen to have any Blemish in his Birth or Person; if any Misfortune hath befallen his Family, or himself, for which he is ashamed, they will be sure to give him broad Hints of it, without any Provocation. I would recommend you to the Acquaintance of a common Prostitute, rather than to that of such Termagants as these. I have often thought that no Man is obliged to suppose such Creatures to be Women; but to treat them like insolent Rascals, disguised in Female Habits, who ought to be stripped, and kicked down Stairs.

I will add one Thing, although it be a little out of Place; which is to desire, that you will learn to value and esteem your Husband, for those good Qualities which he really possesseth; and not to fancy others in him, which he certainly hath not. For, although this latter be generally understood for a Mark of Love, yet it is indeed nothing but Affectation, or ill Judgment. It is true,

the Person you have chosen wanteth so very few Accomplishments, that you are in no great Danger of erring on this Side: But my Caution is occasioned by a Lady of your Acquaintance, married to a very valuable Person, whom yet she is so unfortunate as to be always commending for those Perfections, to which he can least pretend.

I can give you no Advice upon the Article of Expence; only, I think, you ought to be well informed how much your Husband's Revenue amounteth to, and be so good a Computer, as to keep within it, in that Part of the Management which falleth to your Share; and not to put yourself in the Number of those politick Ladies, who think they gain a great a Point, when they have teased their Husbands to buy them a new Equipage, a laced Head, or a fine Petticoat; without once considering what long Scores remain unpaid to the Butcher.

I desire you will keep this Letter in your Cabinet, and often examine impartially your whole Conduct by it: And so God bless you, and make you a fair Example to your Sex, and a perpetual Comfort to your Husband, and your Parents. I am, with great Truth and Affection, Madam, your most faithful Friend, and humble Servant.

The three following Pieces are extracted from a weekly Paper published in Dublin; which were afterwards collected into a Volume, and reprinted in London. The Rev. Dr. SHERIDAN, and some other Gentlemen, wrote the other Papers.

T H E
INTELLIGENCER.

N U M B E R I I I .

— *Ipse per omnes*
Ibit personas, & turbam reddet in unam.

Written in *Ireland* in the Year 1728.

THE *Players* having now almost done with the Comedy called the *Beggar's Opera*, for the Season, it may be no unpleasant Speculation to reflect a little upon this *Dramatick Piece*, so singular in the Subject and Manner, so much an Original, and

which hath frequently given so very agreeable an Entertainment.

Although an evil *Taste* be very apt to prevail, both here and in *London*, yet there is a Point which, whoever can rightly touch, will never fail of pleasing a very great Majority; so great, that the Dislikers, out of Dulness or Affectation, will be silent, and forced to fall in with the Herd: The Point I mean, is what we call a *Humour*; which, in its Perfection, is allowed to be much preferable to *Wit*; if it be not rather the most useful and agreeable Species of it.

I agree with Sir *William Temple*, that the Word is peculiar to our *English* Tongue; but I differ from him in the Opinion, that the Thing itself is peculiar to the *English* Nation, because the contrary may be found in many *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *French* Productions: And, particularly, whoever hath a *Taste* for true *Humour*, will find an hundred Instances of it, in those Volumes printed in *France* under the Name of *La Theatre Italien*: To say nothing of *Rabelais*, *Cervantes*, and many others.

Now I take the *Comedy*, or *Farce*, (or whatever Name the *Criticks* will allow it) called the *Beggar's Opera*, to excel in this Article of *Humour*; and upon that Merit to have met with such prodigious Success both here and in *England*.

As to *Poetry, Eloquence, and Musick*, which are said to have most Power over the Minds of Men, it is certain, that very few have a *Taste* or *Judgment* of the Excellencies of the two former; and if a Man succeed in either, it is upon the Authority of those *few Judges*, that lend their *Taste* to the Bulk of Readers, who have none of their own. I am told, there are as few good Judges in *Musick*; and that among those who crowd the *Operas*, nine in ten go thither meerly out of *Curiosity, Fashion, or Affectation*.

But a *Taste* for *Humour* is in some Manner fixed to the very Nature of Man, and generally obvious to the Vulgar, except upon some Subjects too refined, and superior to their Understanding.

And, as this *Taste* of *Humour* is purely natural, so is *Humour* itself; neither is it a *Talent* confined to Men of *Wit* or *Learning*; for we observe it sometimes among common Servants, and the meanest of the People, while the very Owners are often ignorant of the Gift they possess.

I know very well, that this happy *Talent* is contemptibly treated by *Criticks*, under the Name of *low Humour, or low Comedy*; but I know likewise, that that the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, who are allowed to have the most

most Wit of Nation in *Europe*, do most excel in it, and do most esteem it.

By what Disposition of the Mind, what Influence of the Stars, or what Situation of the Climate, this Endowment is bestowed upon Mankind, may be a Question fit for *Philosophers* to discuss. It is certainly the best Ingredient towards that Kind of Satyr which is most useful, and giveth the least Offence; which, instead of lashing, laugheth Men out of their Follies and Vices; and is the Character that giveth *Horace*, the Preference to *Juvenal*.

And, although some Things are too serious, solemn, or sacred to be turned into Ridicule, yet the Abuses of them are certainly not; since it is allowed, that Corruptions in *Religion*, *Politicks*, and *Law*, may be proper *Topicks* for this Kind of Satyr.

There are two Ends that Men propose in writing Satyr; one of them less noble than the other, as regarding nothing further than the private Satisfaction and Pleasure of the Writer; but without any View towards *personal Malice*: The other is a *publick Spirit*, prompting Men of *Genius* and *Virtue* to mend the World as far as they are able. And as both these Ends are innocent, so the latter is highly commendable. With regard to the former, I demand, whether I have not as good a Title to laugh, as
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Men have to be ridiculous; and to expose Vice, as another hath to be vicious? If I ridicule the Follies and Corruptions of a *Court*, a *Ministry*, or a *Senate*, are they not amply paid by *Pensions*, *Titles*, and *Power*? while I expect and desire no other Reward than that of laughing with a few Friends in a Corner? Yet, if those who take Offence think me in the Wrong, I am ready to change the Scene with them whenever they please.

But, if my Design be to make Mankind better, then I think it is my Duty; at least, I am sure it is the Interest of those very *Courts* and *Ministers*, whose Follies or Vices I ridicule, to reward me for my good Intentions: For, if it be reckoned a high Point of Wisdom to get the Laughers on our Side, it is much more easy, as well as wise, to get those on our Side, who can make Millions laugh when they please.

My Reason for mentioning *Courts* and *Ministers*, (*whom I never think on but with the most profound Veneration*) is, because an Opinion obtains, that in the *Beggar's Opera* there appeareth to be some Reflection upon *Courtiers* and *Statesmen*, whereof I am by no Means a Judge.

It is true, indeed, that Mr. GAY, the Author of this Piece, hath been somewhat singular in the Course of his Fortunes; for
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it hath happened, that after fourteen Years attending the *Court*, with a large Stock of real Merit, a modest and agreeable Conversation, a *hundred Promises*, and *five hundred Friends*, hath failed of Preferment; and upon a very weighty Reason. He lay under the Suspicion of having written a Libel or Lampoon against a great Minister *. It is true, that great Minister was demonstratively convinced, and publicly owned his Conviction, that Mr. GAY was not the Author; but having lain under the Suspicion, it seemed very just that he should suffer the Punishment; because, in this most reformed Age, the Virtues of a prime Minister are no more to be suspected, than the Chastity of *Cæsar's Wife*.

It must be allowed, that the *Beggar's Opera* is not the first of Mr. GAY's Works, wherein he hath been faulty, with regard to *Courtiers* and *Statesmen*. For, to omit his other Pieces, even in his Fables, published within two Years past, and dedicated to the Duke of CUMBERLAND, for which he was *promised* a Reward, he hath been thought somewhat too bold upon the *Courtiers*. And although it be highly probable, he meant only the *Courtiers* of former Times, yet he acted unwarily, by not considering, that the Malignity of some People might misin-

* Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

misinterpret what he said, to the Disadvantage of present *Persons* and Affairs.

But I have now done with Mr. GAY as a Politician; and shall consider him henceforward only as Author of the *Beggar's Opera*, wherein he hath, by a Turn of *Humour* entirely new, placed Vices of all Kinds in the strongest and most odious Light, and thereby done eminent Service, both to *Religion* and *Morality*. This appeareth from the unparalleled Success he hath met with. All *Ranks*, *Parties*, and *Denominations* of Men either crowding to see his *Opera*, or reading it with Delight in their Closets; even *Ministers* of State, whom he is thought to have most offended, (next to those whom the Actors represent) appearing frequently at the *Theatre*, from a Consciousness of their own Innocence, and to convince the World how unjust a Parallel *Malice*, *Envy*, and *Disaffection to the Government*, have made.

I am assured, that several worthy *Clergymen* in this City, went privately to see the *Beggar's Opera* represented; and that the *fleeing Coxcombs* in the *Pit* amused themselves with making Discoveries, and spreading the Names of those Gentlemen round the Audience.

I shall not pretend to vindicate a *Clergyman*, who would appear openly in his Habit at a *Theatre*, with such a vicious Crew

as might probably stand round round him at such *Comedies*, and profane *Tragedies*, as are often represented. Besides, I know very well, that Persons of their Function are bound to avoid the Appearance of Evil, or of giving Cause of Offence. But when the *Lords Chancellors*, who are Keepers of the King's Conscience; when the *Judges* of the Land, whose Title is *Reverend*; when *Ladies*, who are bound by the Rules of their Sex to the strictest Decency, appear in the *Theatre* without Censure; I cannot understand, why a young *Clergyman*, who cometh concealed, out of Curiosity to see an innocent and moral Play, should be so highly condemned: Nor do I much approve the Rigour of a great Prelate, who said, *he hoped none of his Clergy were there*. I am glad to hear there are no weightier Objections against that Reverend Body planted in this City, and I wish there never may. But I should be very sorry that any of them should be so weak as to imitate a * *Court Chaplain* in *England*, who preached against the *Beggar's Opera*; which will probably do more Good than a thousand Sermons

* Dr. Herring, Chaplain to the Society at *Lincoln's Inn*, afterwards Bishop of *Bangor*, and after that Archbishop of *York*, from which he was translated to the Archbishopial See of *Canterbury*.

mons of so stupid, so injudicious, and so prostitute a Divine.

In this happy Performance of Mr. GAY's, all the Characters are just, and none of them carried beyond Nature, or hardly beyond Practice. It discovers the whole System of that common Wealth, or that *Imperium in Imperio* of Iniquity, established among us, by which neither our Lives nor our Properties are secure, either in the Highways, or in publick Assemblies, or even in our own Houses. It shews the miserable Lives and the constant Fate of those abandoned Wretches : For how little they sell their Lives and Souls ; betrayed by their *Whores*, their *Comrades*, and the *Receivers* and *Purchasers* of those Thefts and Robberies. This *Comedy* containeth likewise a *Satyr*, which, without enquiring whether it affects the present Age, may possibly be useful in Times to come. I mean, where the Author takes the Occasion of comparing those *common Robbers of the Publick*, and their several Stratagems of betraying, undermining, and hanging each other, to the several Arts of *Politicians* in Times of Corruption.

This *Comedy* likewise exposeth, with great Justice, that unnatural Taste for *Italian Musick* among us, which is wholly unsuitable to our Northern *Climate*, and the *Genius* of the People, whereby we are over-

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run with *Italian Effeminacy*, and *Italian Nonsense*. An old Gentleman said to me, that many Years ago, when the Practice of an unnatural Vice grew frequent in *London*, and many were prosecuted for it, he was sure it would be the Fore-runner of *Italian Operas* and *Singers*; and then we should have nothing but *Stabbing* or *Poisoning*, to make us perfect *Italians*.

Upon the Whole, I deliver my Judgment, That nothing but servile Attachment to a Party, Affectation of Singularity, lamentable Dulness, mistaken Zeal, or studied Hypocrisy can have the least reasonable Objection against this excellent moral Performance of the *Celebrated Mr. GAY*.

T H E

T H E
INTELLIGENCER.

N U M B E R V.

Written in the Year 1728.

THERE is no *Talent* so useful towards rising in the World, or which putteth Men more out of the Reach of Fortune, than that Quality generally possessed by the dullest Sort of Men, in common Speech called *Discretion*; a Species of lower Prudence, by the Assistance of which People of the meanest Intellectuals, without any other Qualification, pass through the World

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in great Tranquillity, and with universal good Treatment, neither giving nor taking Offence. *Courts* are seldom unprovided of Persons under this Character; on whom, if they happen to be of great Quality, most Employments, even the greatest, naturally fall, when Competitors will not agree; and, in such Promotions, no Body rejoiceth or grieveth. The Truth of this I could prove by several Instances, within my own Memory, (for I say nothing of present Times.)

And, indeed, as Regularity and Forms are of great Use in carrying on the Business of the World, so it is very convenient, that Persons endued with this Kind of Discretion should have the Share which is proper to their Talents in the Conduct of Affairs; but, by no Means, meddle in Matters which require *Genius, Learning, strong Comprehension, Quickness of Conception, Magnanimity, Generosity, Sagacity*, or any other superior Gift of human Minds. Because, this Sort of Discretion is usually attended with a strong Desire of Money, and few Scruples about the Way of obtaining it; with servile Flattery and Submission; with a Want of all publick Spirit or Principle; with a perpetual wrong Judgment, when the Owners come into Power and high Place, how to dispose of Favour and Preferment; having no Measure for Merit and Virtue in others,
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but those very Steps by which themselves ascended; nor the least Intention of doing Good or Hurt to the Publick, farther than either one or the other is likely to be subservient to their own Security or Interest. Thus, being void of all Friendship and Enmity, they never complain or find Fault with the Times; and indeed never have Reason.

Men of eminent Parts and Abilities, as well as Virtues, do sometimes rise in *Courts*, sometimes in the *Law*, and sometimes even in the *Church*. Such were the Lord *Bacon*, the Earl of *Strafford*, Archbishop *Laud*, in the Reign of King *Charles I.* and others in our own Times, whom I shall not name. But these and many more, under different Princes, and in different Kingdoms, were *disgraced**, or *banished*, or *suffered Death*, merely in Envy to their Virtues and superior *Genius*, which emboldened them in great Exigencies and Distresses of State, (wanting a reasonable Infusion of this Aldermanly Discretion) to attempt the Service of their Prince and Country out of the common Forms.

This evil Fortune, which generally attendeth extraordinary Men in the Manage-

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* Dr. *Atterbury*, Bishop of *Rochester*, who was tried and banished by the Parliament of *Great-Britain* in the Year 1722.

ment of great Affairs, hath been imputed to divers Causes, that need not be here set down, when so obvious a one occurreth; if what a * certain Writer observeth be true; that *when a great Genius appeareth in the World, the Dunces are all in Confederacy against him.* And, if this be his Fate, when he employeth his Talents wholly in his Closet, without interfering with any Man's Ambition or Avarice; what must he expect when he ventureth out to seek for Preferment in a Court, but universal Opposition when he is mounting the Ladder, and every Hand ready to turn him off, when he is at the Top? And in this Point, Fortune generally acteth directly contrary to Nature; for in Nature we find, that Bodies full of Life and Spirit mount easily, and are hard to fall: whereas heavy Bodies are hard to rise, and come down with greater Velocity, in Proportion to their Weight: But we find Fortune every Day acting just the Reverse of this.

This Talent of *Discretion*, as I have described it in its several Adjuncts and Circumstances, is no where so serviceable as to the *Clergy*; to whose Preferment nothing is so fatal as the Character of Wit, Politeness in Reading,

* Vide the Author's Thoughts on various Subjects in this Volume.

Reading, or Manners, or that Kind of Behaviour which we contract by having too much conversed with Persons of high Station and Eminency; these Qualifications being reckoned by the *Vulgar* of all Ranks to be Marks of *Levity*, which is the last Crime the World will pardon in a *Clergyman*: To this I may add a free Manner of speaking in mixt Company, and too frequent an Appearance in Places of much Resort, which are equally noxious to Spiritual Promotion.

I have known, indeed, a few Exceptions to some Parts of these Observations. I have seen some of the dullest Men alive aiming at Wit, and others, with as little Pretensions, affecting Politeness in Manners and Discourse; but never being able to persuade the World of their Guilt, they grew into considerable Stations, upon the firm Assurance which all People had of their *Discretion*; because they were a Size too low to deceive the World to their own Disadvantage. But this, I confess, is a Tryal too dangerous often to engage in.

There is a known Story of a *Clergyman*, who was recommended for a Preferment, by some great Man at Court, to an Archbishop*. His Grace said, he had heard that the *Cler-*

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* Dr. *Tenison*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

gyman used to play at *Whisk* and *Swobbers*: That as to playing now and then a sober Game at *Whisk* for Pastime, it might be pardoned; but he could not digest those wicked *Swobbers*; and it was with some Pains that my Lord *Sommers* could undeceive him. I ask, by what Talents we may suppose that great Prelate ascended so high? or what Sort of Qualifications he would expect in those whom he took into his Patronage, or would probably recommend to Court, for the Government of *distant Churches*?

Two Clergymen, in my Memory, stood Candidates for a small *Free School* in *Yorkshire*; where a Gentleman of Quality and Interest in the Country, who happened to have a better Understanding than his Neighbours, procured the Place for him who was the better Scholar, and more gentlemanly Person of the two, very much to the Regret of all the Parish. The other being disappointed, came up to *London*, where he became the greatest Pattern of this lower *Discretion* that I have known, and possessed with as heavy Intellectuals; which, together with the Coldness of his Temper, and Gravity of his Deportment, carried him safe through many Difficulties: And he lived and died in a great Station, while his

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Competitor is too obscure for Fame to tell us what became of him.

This Species of *Discretion*, which I so much celebrate, and do most heartily recommend, hath one Advantage not yet mentioned; that it will carry a Man safe through all the Malice and Variety of Parties, so far, that whatever Faction happeneth to be uppermost, his Claim is usually allowed for a Share of what is going. And the Thing seemeth to me highly reasonable: For, in all great Changes, the prevailing Side is usually so tempestuous, that it wants the Ballast of those, whom the World calleth *moderate Men*, and I call *Men of Discretion*; whom People in Power may, with little Ceremony, load as heavy as they please, drive them through the hardest and deepest Roads without Danger of foundering, or breaking their Backs; and will be sure to find them neither resty nor vicious.

I will here give the Reader a short History of two *Clergymen* in *England*, the Characters of each, and the Progress of their Fortunes in the World: By which the Force of worldly Discretion, and the bad Consequences from the Want of that Virtue, will strongly appear.

Corusades, an *Oxford* Student, and a Farmer's Son, was never absent from Prayers or Lecture; nor once out of his *College* after

Tom had tolled. He spent, every Day, ten Hours in his Closet, in reading his Courses, dozing, clipping Papers, or darning his Stockings; which last he performed to Admiration. He could be soberly drunk, at the Expence of others, with *College Ale*, and at those Seasons was most devout. He wore the same Gown five Years, without dragling or tearing. He never once looked into a Play-book, or a Poem. He read *Virgil* and *Ramus* in the same Cadence, but with a very different Taste. He never understood a Jest, or had the least Conception of Wit.

For one Saying, he standeth in Renown to this Day. Being with some other Students over a Pot of Ale, one of the Company said so many pleasant Things, that the rest were much diverted, only *Corusodes* was silent and unmoved. When they parted, he called this merry Companion aside, and said, *Sir, I perceive by your often speaking, and our Friends laughing, that you spoke many Jest, and you could not but observe my Silence. But, Sir, this is my Humour, I never make a Jest myself, nor ever laugh at another Man's.*

Corusodes, thus endowed, got into Holy Orders; having, by the most extreme Parsimony, saved Thirty-four Pounds out of a very beggarly Fellowship; went up to *London*, where his Sister was Waiting-woman
to

to a Lady, and so good a Sollicitor, that by her Means he was admitted to read Prayers in the Family twice a Day, at Ten Shillings a Month. He had now acquired a low, obsequious, aukward Bow, and a Talent of gross Flattery, both in and out of Season; he would shake the Butler by the Hand; he taught the Page his *Catechism*; and was sometimes admitted to dine at the Steward's Table. In short, he got the good Word of the whole Family; and was recommended, by my Lady, for Chaplain to some other noble Houses, by which his Revenue (besides Vales) amounted to about thirty Pounds a Year. His Sister procured him a Scarf from my Lord, (who had a small Design of Gallantry upon her); and, by his Lordship's Sollicitation, he got a Lectureship in Town of Sixty Pounds a Year; where he preached constantly in Person, in a grave Manner, with an audible Voice, a Stile Ecclesiastick, and the Matter (such as it was) well suited to the Intellectuals of his Hearers. Some Time after, a Country Living fell in my Lord's Disposol; and his Lordship, who had now some Encouragement given him of Success in his Amour, bestowed the Living on *Corusodes*, who still kept his Lectureship and Residence in Town, where he was a constant Attendant at all Meetings relating to Charity, without ever contributing further than his

his frequent pious Exhortations. If any Woman of better Fashion in the Parish happened to be absent from Church, they were sure of a Visit from him in a Day or two, to chide and to dine with them.

He had a select Number of Poor, constantly attending at the Street-Door of his Lodgings, for whom he was a common Solicitor to his former Patroness, dropping in his own Half-Crown among the Collections, and taking it out when he disposed of the Money. At a Person of Quality's House, he would never sit down until he was thrice bid, and then upon the Corner of the most distant Chair. His whole Demeanor was formal and starched, which adhered so close, that he could never shake it off in his highest Promotion.

His Lord was now in high Employment at Court, and attended by him with the most abject Affiduity; and his Sister being gone off with Child to a private Lodging, my Lord continued his Graces to *Corusodes*; got him to be Chaplain in Ordinary, and, in due Time, a Parish in Town, and a *Dignity in the Church*.

He paid his *Curates* punctually, at the lowest Salary, and partly out of the Communion-Money; but gave them good Advice in Abundance. He married a Citizen's Widow; who taught him to put out small

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Sums at *Ten per Cent.* and brought him acquainted with Jobbers in *Change-alley*. By her Dexterity, he sold the Clerkship of his Parish, when it became vacant.

He kept a miserable House, but the Blame was laid wholly upon *Madam*; for the good Doctor was always at his *Books*, or visiting the Sick, or doing other Offices of Charity and Piety in his Parish.

He treated all his Inferiors of the Clergy with a most sanctified Pride; was rigorously and universally censorious upon all his Brethren of the Gown, on their first Appearance in the World, or while they continued meanly preferred; but gave large Allowance to the Laity of high Rank, or great Riches; using neither Eyes nor Ears for their Faults; he was never sensible of the least Corruption in *Courts*, *Parliaments*, or *Ministries*; but made the most favourable Constructions of all publick Proceedings: And Power, in whatever Hands, or whatever Party, was always secure of his most charitable Opinion. He had many wholesome Maxims ready to excuse all Miscarriages of State; *Men are but Men*; *Erunt vitia donec homines*; and *Quod supra nos, nihil ad nos*: With several others of equal Weight.

It would lengthen my Paper beyond Measure to trace out the whole System of his Conduct; his dreadful Apprehensions of
Popery;

Popery; his great Moderation towards Dissenters of all Denominations; with hearty Wishes, that, by yielding somewhat on both Sides, there might be a general Union among Protestants; his short, inoffensive Sermons in his Turns at Court, and the Matter exactly suited to the present Juncture of prevailing Opinions; the Arts he used to obtain a Mitre, by writing against Episcopacy; and the Proofs he gave of his Loyalty, by palliating or defending the Murder of a martyred Prince.

Endowed with all these Accomplishments, we leave him in the full Career of Success, mounting fast towards the Top of the Ladder Ecclesiastical, which he had a fair Probability to reach, without the Merit of one single Virtue; moderately stocked with the least valuable Parts of Erudition; utterly devoid of all *Taste*, *Judgment*, or *Genius*; and in his Grandeur naturally chusing to hawl up others after him, whose Accomplishments most resemble his own, except his beloved Sons, Nephews, or other Kindred, be not in Competition; or lastly, except his Inclinations be diverted by those who have Power to mortify or further advance him.

Eugenio set out from the same University, and about the same Time with *Corusodes*: He had the Reputation of an arch Lad at School,

School, and was unfortunately possessed with a *Talent* for *Poetry*, on which Account he received many chiding Letters from his Father, and grave Advice from his Tutor. He did not neglect his College Learning; but his chief Study was the Authors of Antiquity, with a perfect Knowledge in the *Greek* and *Roman* Tongues. He could never procure himself to be chosen Fellow; for it was objected against him that he had written Verses, and particularly some, wherein he glanced at a certain Reverend Doctor, famous for Dulness: That he had been seen bowing to Ladies as he met them in the Street; and it was proved, that once he had been found dancing in a private Family, with half a Dozen of both Sexes.

He was the younger Son to a Gentleman of a good Birth, but small Estate; and his Father dying, he was driven to *London* to seek his Fortune: he got into Orders, and became Reader in a Parish Church, at Twenty Pounds a Year; was carried by an *Oxford* Friend to *Will's* Coffee-house, frequented in those Days by Men of Wit; where in some Time he had the bad Luck to be distinguished. His scanty Salary compelled him to run deep in Debt for a new Gown and Cassock; and now and then forced him to write some Paper of Wit and Humour, or preach a Sermon for Ten Shillings to supply

ply his Necessities. He was a thousand Times recommended by his Poetical Friends to great Persons, as a young Man of excellent Parts, who deserved Encouragement; and received a thousand Promises: But his Modesty, and a generous Spirit, which disdained the Slavery of continual Application and Attendance, always disappointed him; making Room for vigilant Dunces, who were sure to be never out of Sight.

He had an excellent Faculty in Preaching, if he were not sometimes a little too refined, and apt to trust too much to his own Way of Thinking and Reasoning.

When, upon the Vacancy of Preferment, he was hardly drawn to attend upon some Promising Lord, he received the usual Answer, *that he came too late, for it had been given to another the very Day before.* And he had only the Comfort left, that every Body said it was a thousand Pities that something could not be done for poor Mr. *Eugenio*.

The Remainder of this Story will be dispatched in a few Words. Wearied with weak Hopes, and weaker Pursuits, he accepted a Curacy in *Derbyshire*, of Thirty Pounds a Year; and when he was five and forty, he had the great Felicity to be preferred by a Friend of his Father's to a Vicarage worth annually sixty Pounds, in the

the most desert Parts of *Lincolnshire*; where, his Spirits quite sunk with those Reflections that Solitude and Disappointments bring, he married a Farmer's Widow, and is still alive, utterly undistinguished and forgotten; only some of the Neighbours have accidentally heard, *that he had been a notable Man in his Youth.*

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T H E

INTELLIGENCER.

N U M B E R IX.

FROM frequently reflecting upon the Course and Method of educating Youth in this and a neighbouring Kingdom, with the general Success and Consequence thereof, I am come to this Determination: That, Education is always the *worse* in Proportion to the *Wealth* and *Grandeur* of the Parents: Nor do I doubt in the least, that if the whole World were now under the Dominion of *one Monarch* (provided I might be allowed to chuse *where* he should fix the Seat of his Empire) the only Son and Heir of that Monarch would be the worst educated Mortal that ever was born since the Creation: And I doubt, the same Proportion will hold

hold through all Degrees and Titles, from an Emperor downwards, to the common Gentry.

I do not say, that this hath been always the Case; for in better Times it was directly otherwise, and a Scholar may fill half his *Greek* and *Roman* Shelves with Authors of the noblest Birth, as well as highest Virtue. Nor, do I tax all Nations at present with this Defect; for I know there are some to be excepted, and particularly *Scotland*, under all the Disadvantages of its Climate and Soil, if that Happiness be not rather owing even to those very Disadvantages. What is then to be done, if this Reflection must fix on two Countries, which will be most ready to take Offence, and which of all others it will be the least prudent or safe to offend?

But there is one Circumstance yet more dangerous and lamentable: For if, according to the *Postulatum* already laid down, the higher Quality any Youth is of, he is in greater Likelihood to be worse educated; it behoveth me to dread and keep far from the Verge of *Scandalum Magnatum*.

Retracting therefore that hazardous *Postulatum*; I shall venture no further at present, than to say, that perhaps *some* Care in educating the Sons of Nobility and principal Gentry might not be ill employed. If this

be not delivered with Softness enough, I must for the future be silent.

In the mean Time, let me ask only two Questions, which relate to *England*. I ask first, how it cometh about, that, for above Sixty Years past, the chief Conduct of Affairs have been generally placed in *New-men*, with few Exceptions? The noblest Blood of *England* having been shed in the grand Rebellion, many great Families became extinct, or supplied by Minors. When the King was restored, very few of those Lords remained, who began or at least had improved their Education, under the happy Reign of King *James*, or King *Charles I.* of which Lords the two principal were the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*. The Minors having, during the Rebellion and Usurpation, either received too much Tincture of bad Principles from those fanatick Times; or, coming to Age at the Restoration, fell into the Vices of that dissolute Reign.

I date from this *Æra* the corrupt Method of Education among us, and the Consequence thereof, in the Necessity the Crown lay under of introducing in *New-men* into the highest Employments of State, or to the Office of what we now call Prime Ministers, Men of Art, Knowledge, Application, and Insinuation, merely for Want of a Supply
among

among the Nobility. They were generally (although not always) of good Birth, sometimes younger Brothers, at other Times such, who although inheriting ample Fortunes, yet happened to be well educated, and provided with Learning. Such under that King were *Hyde, Bridgeman, Clifford, Osborn, Godolphin, Ashley-Cooper*: Few or none under the short Reign of King *James II.* Under King *William*; *Sommers, Montague, Churchill, Vernon, Harry Boyle*, and many others. Under the Queen; *Harley, St. John, Harcourt, Trevor*, who indeed were Persons of the best private Families, but unadorned with Titles. So, in the last Reign; Mr. *Robert Walpole* was for many Years Prime Minister, in which Post he still HAPPILY continueth: His Brother *Horace* is Ambassador Extraordinary to *France*. Mr. *Addison* and Mr. *Craggs*, without the least Alliance to support them, have been Secretaries of State.

If the Facts have been thus for above Sixty Years past, (whereof I could, with a little further Recollection, produce many more Instances) I would ask again how it hath happened, that, in a Nation plentifully abounding with Nobility, so great a Share in the most important Parts of Publick Management hath been for so long a Period chiefly intrusted to Commoners; unless

some Omissions, or Defects of the highest Import, may be charged upon those, to whom the Care of educating our noble Youth hath been committed? For, if there be any Difference between Human Creatures in the Point of *natural Parts*, as we usually call them; it should seem, that the Advantage lieth on the Side of Children born from noble wealthy Parents; the same traditional Sloth and Luxury, which render their Body weak and effeminate, perhaps refining and giving a freer Motion to the Spirits, beyond what can be expected from the gross, robust Issue of meaner Mortals. Add to this, the peculiar Advantages, which all young Noblemen possess, by the Privileges of their Birth; such as a free Access to Courts, and a Deference paid to their Persons.

But as my Lord *Bacon* chargeth it for a Fault on Princes, that they are impatient to compass *Ends*, without giving themselves the Trouble of consulting or executing the *Means*: So perhaps it may be the Disposition of young Nobles, either from the Indulgence of Parents, Tutors and Governors, or their own Inactivity, that they expect the *Accomplishments* of a good Education, without the least Experience of *Time* or *Study* to acquire them.

What

What I said last, I am ready to retract. For the Case is infinitely worse; and the very Maxims set up to direct *modern* Education, are enough to destroy all the Seeds of Knowledge, Honour, Wisdom and Virtue among us. The current Opinion prevails, that the Study of *Greek* and *Latin* is Loss of Time; that the publick Schools by mingling the Sons of Noblemen with those of the Vulgar engage the former in bad Company; that Whipping breaks the Spirits of Lads well born; that Universities make young Men Pedants; that to Dance, Fence, speak *French*, and know how to behave yourself among great Persons of both Sexes, comprehends *the whole Duty of a Gentleman*.

I cannot but think this wise System of Education hath been much cultivated among us by those Worthies of the Army, who during the last War, returning from *Flanders*, at the Close of each Campaign, became the Dictators of Behaviour, Dress, and Politeness, to all those Youngsters, who frequent Chocolate-Coffee-Gaming-houses, Drawing-Rooms, Operas, Levees and Assemblies; where a Colonel, by his Pay, Perquisites, and Plunder, was qualified to out-shine many Peers of the Realm; and by the Influence of an *exotick* Habit and Demeanor, added to other foreign Accomplishments,

plishments, gave the Law to the whole Town; and was copied as the Standard-Pattern of whatever was refined in Dress, Equipage, Conversation, or Diversions.

I remember in those Times an admired Original of that Vocation, sitting in a Coffee-house near two Gentlemen, whereof one was of the Clergy, who were engaged in some Discourse that favoured of Learning; this Officer thought fit to interpose; and professing to deliver the Sentiments of his Fraternity, as well as his own, (and probably did so of too many among them) turning to the Clergyman, spoke in the following Manner, * *D——n me, Doctor, say what you will, the Army is the only School for Gentlemen. Do you think my Lord Marlborough beat the French with Greek and Latin?*

D——n me, a Scholar when he comes into good Company, what is he but an Ass? D——n me, I would be glad, by G——d, to see any one of your Scholars with his Nouns, and his Verbs, and his Philosophy, and Trigonometry, what a Figure he would make at a Siege or Blockade, or reconnoitring ——— D——n me, &c. After which he proceeded with a Volley of Military Terms, less significant, sounding worse, and harder to be understood than any that were ever coined by the Com-

* See *Hamilton's Bawn* in the Author's Poems.

Commentators on *Aristotle*. I would not here be thought to charge the Soldiery with Ignorance and Contempt of Learning, without allowing Exceptions, of which I have known a few: But however, the worse Example, especially in a great Majority, will certainly prevail.

I have heard, that the late Earl of *Oxford*, in the Time of his Ministry, never passed by *White's Chocolate-house* (the common Rendezvous of infamous Sharpers, and noble Cullies) without bestowing a Curse upon that famous Academy, as the Bane of half the *English Nobility*. I have likewise been told another Passage concerning that great Minister; which, because it giveth an humorous Idea of one principal Ingredient in modern Education, take as followeth. *Le Sac*, the famous *French* Dancing-Master, in great Admiration, asked a Friend, whether it were true, that Mr. *Harley* was made an Earl and Lord-Treasurer? and finding it confirmed, said; * *Well, I wonder what the Devil the Queen could see in him; for I attended him two Years, and he was the greatest Duncce that ever I taught.*

Another Hindrance to good Education, and I think the greatest of any, is that pernicious

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* The Author's Friends have heard him tell the Passage as from the Earl himself.

nicious Custom in rich and noble Families, of entertaining *French* Tutors in their Houses. These wretched *Pedagogues* are enjoined by the Father to take special Care that the Boy shall be perfect in his *French*; by the Mother, that Master must not walk until he is hot, nor be suffered to play with other Boys, nor be wet in his Feet, nor daub his Cloaths: And to see that the Dancing-Master attendeth constantly, and doth his Duty: She further insists, that the Child be not kept too long poring on his Book, because he is subject to sore Eyes, and of a weakly Constitution.

By these Methods, the young Gentleman is in every Article as fully accomplished at eight Years old, as at eight and twenty: Age adding only to the Growth of his Person and Vices; so that if you should look at him in his Boyhood through the magnifying End of a Perspective, and in his Manhood through the other, it would be impossible to espy any Difference; the same Airs, the same Strut, the same Cock of his Hat, and the Posture of his Sword, (as far as the Changes of Fashions will allow) the same Understanding, the same Compass of Knowledge, with the very same Absurdity, Impudence, and Impertinence of Tongue.

He is taught from the Nursery, that he must inherit a great Estate, and hath no Need

Need to mind his Book ; which is a Lesson he never forgetteth to the End of his Life. His chief Solace is to steal down, and play at Span-Farthing with the Page, or young Black-a-more, or little favourite Foot-boy ; one of which is his principal Confident and Bosom-Friend.

There is one young * Lord in this Town, who, by an unexampled Piece of good Fortune, was miraculously snatched out of the Gulph of Ignorance ; confined to a publick School for a due Term of Years ; well whipped when he deserved it ; clad no better than his Comrades, and always their Play-fellow on the same Foot ; had no Precedence in the School, but what was given him by his Merit, and lost it whenever he was negligent. It is well known how many Mutinies were bred at this unprecedented Treatment ; what Complaints among his *Relations*, and

* Lord Viscount *Mountcashel*, of *Ireland*, who died in a few Years after, by whose Death the Title became extinct, his Lordship never being married. The Estate descended to his Sister, Miss *Davis*, who married Lord Viscount *Buttevant*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Barrymore*, who succeeded his Father in Estate and Honours, and left Issue one Son, who is married to one of the Daughters of the Earl of *Harrington*. The Title of Lord *Mountcashel*, by new Creation, was given to *Stephen Moore*, Esq; of *Kilworth* in the County of *Cork*.

and other *Great Ones* of both Sexes; that his Stockings with Silver Clocks were ravished from him; that, he wore his own Hair; that, his Dress was undistinguished; that, he was not fit to appear at a Ball or Assembly, nor suffered to go to either: And it was with the utmost Difficulty, that he became qualified for his present Removal to the University; where he may probably be farther persecuted, and possibly with Success, if the Firmness of a Governor, and his own good Dispositions will not preserve him. I confess, I cannot but wish he may go on in the Way he began; because, I have a Curiosity to know by so *singular* an Experiment, whether Truth, Honour, Justice, Temperance, Courage, and good Sense, acquired by a *School* and *College* Education, may not produce a very tolerable Lad; although he should happen to fail in one or two of those Accomplishments, which in the general Vogue are held so important to the finishing of a Gentleman.

It is true, I have known an Academical Education to have been exploded in publick Assemblies; and have heard more than one or two Persons of high Rank declare, they could learn nothing more at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, than to drink Ale, and smoke Tobacco; wherein I firmly believed them, and could have added some hundred Ex-
amples

amples from my own Observation in one of those Universities: But they all were of young Heirs sent thither only for Form; either from Schools, where they were not suffered by their careful Parents to stay above three Months in the Year; or from under the Management of *French* Family-Tutors, who yet often attended them at their *College*, to prevent all Possibility of their Improvement: But, I never yet knew one Person of Quality, who followed his Studies at the University, and carried away his just Proportion of Learning, who was not ready upon all Occasions to celebrate and defend that Course of Education, and to prove a Patron of learned Men.

There is one Circumstance in a learned Education, which ought to have much Weight, even with those who have no Learning at all. The Books read at *Schools* and *Colleges* are full of Incitements to Virtue, and Discouragements from Vice, drawn from the wisest Reasons, the strongest Motives, and the most influencing Examples. Thus, young Minds are filled early with an Inclination to Good, and an Abhorrence of Evil; both which increase in them, according to the Advances they make in Literature: And, although they may be, and too often are drawn by the Temptations of Youth, and the Opportunities of a large
For-

Fortune, into some Irregularities, when they come forward into the great World; it is ever with Reluctance and Compunction of Mind, because their Byass to Virtue still continueth. They may stray sometimes by Infirmary or Compliance, but they will soon return to the right Road, and keep it always in View. I speak only of those Excesses, which are too much the Attendants of Youth and warmer Blood: But, as to the Points of Honour, Truth, Justice, and other noble Gifts of the Mind, wherein the Temperature of the Body hath no Concern, they are seldom or never known to be misled.

I have engaged myself very unwarily in too copious a Subject for so short a Paper. The present Scope I would aim at, is to prove, that some Proportion of Human Knowledge appeareth requisite to those, who, by their Birth or Fortune, are called to the making of Laws, and in a subordinate Way to the Execution of them; and that such Knowledge is not to be obtained without a Miracle; under the frequent, corrupt, and sottish Method, of educating those, who are born to Wealth or Titles. For, I would have it remembered, that I do by no Means confine these Remarks to young Persons of noble Birth; the same Errors running through all Families, where
there

there is Wealth enough to afford, that their Sons (at least the Eldest) may be good for nothing. Why should my Son be a Scholar, when it is not intended that he should live by his Learning? By this Rule, if what is commonly said to be true, that Money answereth all Things, why should my Son be honest, temperate, just, or charitable, since he hath no Intention to depend upon any of these Qualities for a Maintenance?

When all is done, perhaps upon the Whole, the Matter is not so bad as I would make it: And GOD, who worketh Good out of Evil, acting only by the ordinary Course and Rule of Nature, permits this continual Circulation of human Things for his own unsearchable Ends. The Father groweth rich by Avarice, Injustice, Oppression; he is a Tyrant in the Neighbourhood over Slaves and Beggars, whom he calleth his Tenants. Why should he desire to have Qualities infused into his Son, which himself never possessed, or knew, or found the Want of in the Acquisition of his Wealth? The Son, bred in Sloth and Idleness, becometh a Spendthrift, a Cully, a Profligate; and goeth out of the World a Beggar as his Father came in: Thus the former is punished for his own Sins, as well as for those of the latter. The Dunghill having raised
a huge

a huge Mushroom of short Duration is now spread to enrich other Mens Lands. It is, indeed, of worse Consequence, where noble Families are gone to Decay; because their Titles and Privileges outlive their Estates: And Politicians tell us, that nothing is more dangerous to the Publick; than a numerous Nobility without Merit or Fortune. But even here God hath likewise prescribed some Remedy in the Order of Nature; so many great Families coming to an End by their Sloth, Luxury, and abandoned Lusts, which enervated their Breed through every Succession, producing gradually a more effeminate Race, wholly unfit for Propagation.

THOUGHTS

THOUGHTS

ON

Various Subjects.

WE have just Religion enough to make us *bate*, but not enough to make us *love* one another.

Reflect on Things past, as Wars, Negotiations, Factions, and the like; we enter so little into those Interests, that we wonder how Men could possibly be so busy, and concerned for Things so transitory: Look on the present Times, we find the same Humour, yet wonder not at all.

A wise Man endeavoureth, by considering all Circumstances, to make Conjectures, and form Conclusions: But the smallest Accident intervening (and in the Course of Affairs it is impossible to foresee all) doth often produce such Turns and Changes, that at last he is just as much in doubt of Events,

as

as the most ignorant and unexperienced Person.

Positiveness is a good Quality for Preachers and Orators; because whoever would obtrude his Thoughts and Reasons upon a Multitude will convince others, the more, as he appeareth convinced himself.

How is it possible to expect that Mankind will take *Advice*, when they will not so much as take *Warning*.

I forget whether Advice be among the lost Things which, *Aristo* sayeth, are to be found in the Moon; That and Time ought to have been there.

No Preacher is listened to, but Time; which giveth us the same Train and Turn of Thought, that elder People have tried in vain to put into our Heads before.

When we desire or solicit any Thing; our Minds run wholly on the good Side; or Circumstances of it; when it is obtained; our Minds run only on the bad ones.

In a *Glass-House*, the Workmen often fling in a small Quantity of fresh Coals; which seemeth to disturb the Fire, but very much enliveneth it. This may allude to a gentle stirring of the Passions, that the Mind may not languish.

Religion seemeth to have grown an Infant with Age, and requireth Miracles to nurse it, as it had in its Infancy.

All

All Fits of Pleasure are balanced by an equal Degree of Pain, or Langour; it is like spending this Year Part of the next Year's Revenue.

The latter Part of a wise Man's Life is taken up in curing the Follies, Prejudices, and false Opinions he had contracted in the former.

If a Writer would know how to behave himself with relation to Posterity, let him consider in old Books, what he finds, that he is glad to know; and what Omissions he most lamenteth.

Whatever the Poets pretend, it is plain they gave Immortality to none but themselves: It is *Homer* and *Virgil* we reverence and admire, not *Achilles* or *Æneas*. With Historians it is quite the contrary; our Thoughts are taken up with the Actions, Persons, and Events we read; and we little regard the Authors.

When a true Genius appeareth in the World, you may know him by this infallible Sign; that the Dunces are all in Confederacy against him.

Men, who possess all the Advantages of Life, are in a State where there are many Accidents to disorder and discompose, but few to please them.

It is unwise to punish Cowards with Ignominy; for if they had regarded that, they

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would not have been Cowards; Death is their proper Punishment, because they fear it most.

The greatest Inventions were produced in the Times of Ignorance; as the Use of the *Compass*, *Gunpowder*, and *Printing*; and by the dullest Nation, as the *Germans*.

One Argument to prove that the common Relations of *Ghosts* and *Spectres* are generally false may be drawn from the Opinion held, that Spirits are never seen by more than one Person at a Time; That is to say, it seldom happens that above one Person in a Company is possessed with any high Degree of Spleen or Melancholy.

I am apt to think, that in the Day of Judgment there will be small Allowance given to the Wise for their Want of Morals, or to the Ignorant for their Want of Faith; because, both are without Excuse. This renders the Advantages equal of Ignorance and Knowledge. But some Scruples in the Wise, and some Vices in the Ignorant, will perhaps be forgiven upon the Strength of Temptation to each.

The Value of several Circumstances in History lesseneth very much by Distance of Time; although some minute Circumstances are very valuable; and it requireth great Judgment in a Writer to distinguish.

It

It is grown a Word of Course for Writers to say, this *critical Age*, as Divines say, this *sinful Age*.

It is pleasant to observe; how free the present Age is in laying Taxes on the next: *Future Ages shall talk of this: This shall be famous to all Posterity.* Whereas their Time and Thoughts will be taken up about present Things, as ours are now.

The *Camelion*, who is said to feed upon nothing but Air, hath of all Animals the nimblest Tongue.

When a Man is made a spiritual Peer, he loseth his Sirname; when a temporal, his Christian Name.

It is in Disputes as in Armies; where the weaker Side setteth up false Lights, and maketh a great Noise, that the Enemy may believe them to be more numerous and strong than they really are.

Some Men, under the Notions of weeding out Prejudices; eradicate Religion, Virtue, and common Honesty:

In all well-instituted Commonwealths, Care hath been taken to limit Men's Possessions; which is done for many Reasons; and among the rest, for one that perhaps is not often considered: Because, when Bounds are set to Men's Desires, after they have acquired as much as the Laws will permit them, their private Interest is at an End;

and they have nothing to do, but to take Care of the Publick.

There are but three Ways for a Man to revenge himself of a censorious World: To despise it; to return the like; or to endeavour to live so as to avoid it. The first of these is usually pretended; the last is almost impossible; the universal Practice is for the second.

Herodotus telleth us, that in cold Countries Beasts very seldom have Horns; but in hot they have very large ones. This might bear a pleasant Application.

I never heard a finer Piece of Satyr against *Lawyers*, than that of *Astrologers*; when they pretend by Rules of Art to foretel in what Time a Suit will end, and whether to the Advantage of the Plaintiff or Defendant: Thus making the Matter depend entirely upon the Influence of the Stars, without the least Regard to the Merits of the Cause.

That Expression in *Apocrypha* about *Tobit*, and his Dog following him, I have often heard ridiculed; yet *Homer* has the same Words of *Telemachus* more than once; and *Virgil* sayeth something like it of *Evan-der*: And I take the Book of *Tobit* to be partly poetical.

I have known some Men possessed of good Qualities, which were very serviceable to others, but useless to themselves; like a
Sun-

Sun-Dial on the Front of a House, to inform the Neighbours and Passengers, but not the Owner within.

If a Man would register all his Opinions upon Love, Politicks, Religion, Learning, and the like; beginning from his Youth, and so go on to old Age: What a Bundle of Inconsistencies and Contradictions would appear at last.

What they *do* in Heaven we are ignorant of; what they do *not* we are told expressly; that they neither marry, nor are given in Marriage.

When a Man observes the Choice of Ladies now a-days, in the dispensing of their Favours; can he forbear paying some Veneration to the Memory of those Mares mentioned by *Xenophon*; who, while their Manes were on; that is, while they were in their Beauty, would never admit the Embraces of an Ass.

It is a miserable Thing to live in Suspense; it is the Life of a Spider. *Vide quidem, pende tamen, improba, dixit.*

The Stoical Scheme of supplying our Wants, by lopping off our Desires; is like cutting off our Feet when we want Shoes.

Physicians ought not to give their Judgment of Religion, for the same Reason that

Butchers are not admitted Jurors upon Life and Death.

The Reason why so few Marriages are happy is, because young Ladies spend their Time in making *Nets*, and not in making *Cages*.

If a Man will observe as he walks the Streets, I believe he will find the merriest Countenances in Mourning Coaches.

Nothing more unqualifieth a Man to act with Prudence, than a Misfortune that is attended with Shame and Guilt.

The Power of Fortune is confessed only by the Miserable; for the Happy impute all their Success to Prudence or Merit.

Ambition often putteth Men upon doing the meanest Offices; so climbing is performed in the same Posture with creeping.

Ill Company is like a Dog, who fouls those most whom he loveth best.

Censure is the Tax a Man payeth to the Publick for being eminent.

Although Men are accused for not knowing their own Weakness: yet perhaps as few know their own Strength. It is in Men as in Soils, where sometimes there is a Vein of Gold, which the Owner knoweth not of.

Satyr is reckoned the easiest of all Wit; but I take it to be otherwise in very bad Times; for it is as hard to satyryze well a Man.

Man of distinguished Vices, as to praise well a Man of distinguished Virtues. It is easy enough to do either to People of moderate Characters.

Invention is the Talent of Youth, and Judgment of Age; so that our Judgment groweth harder to please when we have fewer Things to offer it: This goes through the whole Commerce of Life. When we are old, our Friends find it difficult to please us, and are less concerned whether we be pleased or no.

No wise Man ever wished to be younger.

An idle Reason lessens the Weight of the good ones you gave before.

The Motives of the best Actions will not bear too strict an Enquiry. It is allowed, that the Cause of most Actions, good or bad, may be resolved into the Love of ourselves: But the Self-Love of some Men inclines them to please others; and the Self-Love of others is wholly employed in pleasing themselves. This makes the great Distinction between Virtue and Vice. Religion is the best Motive of all Actions; yet Religion is allowed to be the highest Instance of Self-Love.

When the World hath once begun to use us ill, it afterwards continues the same Treatment with less Scruple or Ceremony; as Men do a Whore.

Old Men view best at Distance with the Eyes of Understanding, as well as with those of Nature.

Some People take more Care to hide their Wisdom than their Folly.

Arbitrary Power is the natural Object of Temptation to a Prince; as Wine or Women to a young Fellow, or a Bribe to a Judge, or Avarice to old Age, or Vanity to a Female.

Anthony Henly's Farmer dying of an Asthma said: Well, if I can get this Breath once out, I will take Care it shall never get in again.

The Humour of exploding many Things under the Names of Trifles, Fopperies, and only imaginary Goods, is a very false Proof either of Wisdom or Magnanimity; and a great Check to virtuous Actions. For Instance, with regard to Fame: There is in most People a Reluctance and Unwillingness to be forgotten. We observe, even among the Vulgar, how fond they are to have an Inscription over their Grave. It requireth but little Philosophy to discover and observe, that there is no intrinsic Value in all this; however, if it be founded in our Nature, as an Incitement to Virtue, it ought not to be ridiculed.

Repentance

Repentance is the largest Tribute Heaven receiveth; and the sincerest Part of our Devotion.

The common Fluency of Speech in many Men, and most Women, is owing to a Scarcity of Matter, and Scarcity of Words; for whoever is a Master of Language, and hath a Mind full of Ideas, will be apt in speaking to hesitate upon the Choice of both: Whereas common Speakers have only one Set of Ideas, and one Set of Words to cloath them in; and these are always ready at the Mouth. So People come faster out of a Church when it is almost empty, than when a Crowd is at the Door.

Few are qualified to *shine* in Company; but it is in most Men's Power to be *agreeable*. The Reason therefore, why Conversation runneth so low at present, is not the Defect of Understanding; but Pride, Vanity, Ill-nature, Affectation, Singularity, Positiveness; or some other Vice, the Effect of a wrong Education.

To be vain, is rather a Mark of Humility than of Pride. Vain Men delight in telling what Honours have been done them, what great Company they have kept, and the like; by which they plainly confess, that these Honours were more than their Due; and such as their Friends would not believe,
if

if they had not been told: Whereas, a Man truly proud thinks the greatest Honours below his Merit, and consequently scorneth to boast. I therefore deliver it as a Maxim; that whoever desires the Character of a proud Man, ought to conceal his Vanity.

Law in a free Country is, or ought to be, the Determination of the Majority of those who have Property in Land.

One Argument used to the Disadvantage of Providence, I take to be a very strong one in its Defence. It is objected, that Storms and Tempests, unfruitful Seasons, Serpents, Spiders, Flies, and other noxious or troublesome Animals, with many more Instances of the like Kind, discover an Imperfection in Nature; because human Life would be much easier without them: But the Design of Providence may clearly be perceived in this Proceeding. The Motions of the Sun and Moon; in short, the whole System of the Universe, as far as Philosophers have been able to discover and observe, are in the utmost Degree of Regularity and Perfection: But wherever God hath left to Man the Power of interposing a Remedy by Thought or Labour, there he hath placed Things in a State of Imperfection, on purpose to stir up human Industry; without which Life would stagnate, or indeed

deed rather could not subsist at all: *Curis
acuens mortalia Corda.*

Praise is the Daughter of present Power.

I have known several Persons of great Fame for Wisdom in publick Affairs and Councils, governed by foolish Servants.

I have known great Ministers distinguished for Wit and Learning, who preferred none but Dunces.

I have known Men of Valour Cowards to their Wives.

I have known Men of the greatest Cunning perpetually cheated.

I knew three great Ministers, who could exactly compute and settle the Accounts of a Kingdom; but were wholly ignorant of their own Oeconomy.

The Preaching of Divines helpeth to preserve well-inclined Men in the Course of Virtue; but seldom or never reclaims the Vicious.

Princes usually make wiser Choices than the Servants whom they trust for the Disposal of Places: I have known a Prince more than once chuse an able Minister; but I never observed that Minister to use his Credit in the Disposal of an Employment to a Person whom he thought the fittest for it. One of the greatest in this Age owned and excused the Matter to me; from the
Violence

Violence of Parties, and the Unreasonableness of Friends.

Small Causes are sufficient to make a Man uneasy, when great ones are not in the Way: For want of a *Block* he will stumble at a *Straw*.

Dignity, high Station, or great Riches, are in some Sort necessary to old Men, in order to keep the Younger at a Distance; who are otherwise too apt to insult them upon the Score of their Age.

Every Man desireth to live long; but no Man would be old.

Love of Flattery in most Men proceedeth from the mean Opinion they have of themselves: In Women from the contrary.

If Books and Laws continue to increase as they have done for Fifty Years past; I am in some Concern for future Ages, how any Man will be learned, or any Man a Lawyer.

Kings are commonly said to have *long Hands*; I wish they had as *long Ears*.

Princes in their Infancy, Childhood and Youth, are said to discover prodigious Parts and Wit; to speak Things that surprize and astonish: Strange, so many *hopeful* Princes, and so many *shameful* Kings! If they happen to die young, they would have been *Prodigies* of Wisdom and Virtue: If they live,

live, they are often *Prodigies* indeed; but of *another Sort*.

Politicks, as the Word is commonly understood, are nothing but Corruptions; and consequently of no Use to a good King, or a good Ministry; For which Reason, Courts are so over-run with Politicks.

Silenus, the Foster-Father of *Bacchus*, is always carried by an *Afs*, and hath Horns on his Head. The Moral is; that Drunkards are led by Fools, and have a great Chance to be Cuckolds.

Venus, a beautiful good-natured Lady, was the Goddess of Love; *Juno*, a terrible Shrew, the Goddess of Marriage; and they were always mortal Enemies.

Those who are against Religion must needs be Fools: And there we read, that, of all Animals, God refused the *First-born* of an *Afs*.

A very little Wit is valued in a Woman; as we are pleased with a few Words spoken plain by a Parrot.

A nice Man is a Man of nasty Ideas.

Apollo was held the God of Physick, and Sender of Diseases: Both were originally the same Trade, and still continue.

Old Men and Comets have been revered for the same Reason; their long Beards, and Pretences to foretel Events.

I was asked at Court, what I thought of the *French* Ambassador and his Train; who
were

were all Embroidery and Lace, full of Bows, Cringes, and Gestures? I said, it was *Solomon's* Importation; *Gold and Apes*.

There is a Story in *Pausanias* of a Plot for betraying a City, discovered by the Bray-
ing of an *Ass*: The Cackling of *Geese* saved the *Capitol*: And *Cataline's* Conspiracy was discovered by a *Whore*. These are the only three Animals, as far as I remember, famous in History for *Evidences* and *In-
formers*.

Most Kinds of Diversion in Men, Children, and other Animals, are an Imitation of Fighting.

Augustus, meeting an *Ass* with a *lucky Name*, foretold himself good Fortune. I meet many *Asses*, but none of them have lucky Names.

If a Man maketh me keep my Distance; the Comfort is, he keepeth his at the same Time.

Who can deny that all Men are violent Lovers of Truth, when we see them so positive in their Errors, which they will maintain out of their Zeal to Truth, although they contradict themselves every Day of their Lives.

That was excellently observed, say I, when I read a Passage in an Author, where his Opinion agreeth with mine. When we differ, there I pronounce him to be *mistaken*.

Very

Very few Men, properly speaking, *live* at present, but are providing to *live* another Time.

As universal a Practice as Lying is, and as easy a one as it seemeth, I do not remember to have heard three good Lies in all my Conversation ; even from those, who were most celebrated in that Faculty.

End of the first Volume.

Various SUBJECTS

Very few Men, properly speaking, live at present, but are providing to live another Time.

As universal a Practice as Lying is, and as early one as it is, I do not remember to have heard of it in all my Conversation, those, who were most celebrated for their



End of the first Volume

